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AKWESASNE NOTES

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WHERE THE PARTRIDGE DRUMS

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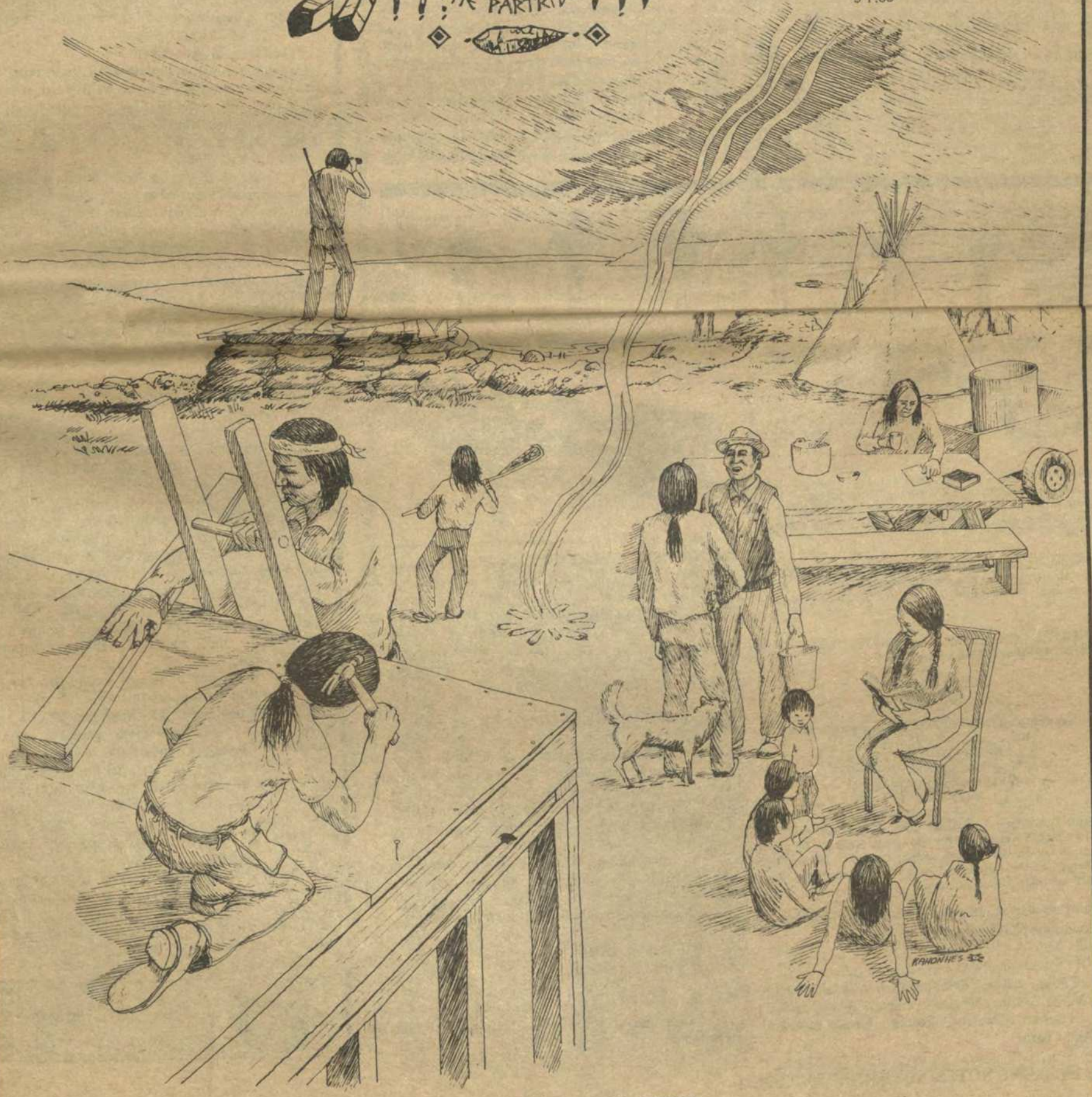

A JOURNAL FOR NATIVE AND NATURAL PEOPLES

AUTUMN, 1979 ISSUE

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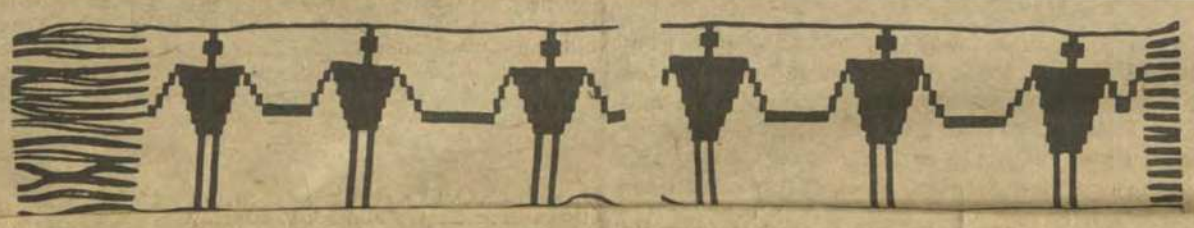
ABOUT OUR COVER:

Kahonhes has given us his artistic view of the encampment of the Mohawk Nation, or Fort Kanaserakeh, as we call it.

AKWESASNE NOTES asked Kahonhes to share his view of the encampment with you, the reader, so you can begin to have a sense of what is really happening among the people of the Mohawk Nation.

Newspaper reporters have portrayed the Mohawk people as a group of chain saw thieves and petty criminals. This cover shows many of the activities which are being undertaken as the Mohawk Nation continues to BUILD and MAINTAIN a positive community in the midst of a police state type seige.



AKWESASNE NOTES

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The Akwesasne NOTES People:

Diane, Eddie, Joyce, Kaientares, Gai,ha-tah, Keith, Adam, Verna, Wenjie, Segwalise, Dagmar, Berndt, Katsi, Howie, Tsiorasa, Charlene, Forrest, Carol, Jose and John. And Charlie.

MONEY ISN'T EVERYTHING, BUT ... it helps to keep a newspaper going. Our costs are going up like everything else, but donations are not keeping pace with the cost increases. If you're one of those people who have been meaning to send us some money but just haven't gotten around to it, please, do it today so that we can keep producing this newspaper. Total costs of this issue will exceed $14,600.

A NEW WAY TO HELP NOTES

Your contributions to AKWESASNE NOTES can now be tax–deductible. The Youth Project of Washington, D.C., a public foundation under 501–C–3 of the Internal Revenue Code has agreed to take NOTES under its wing as a research and educational project.

If you would like to support these efforts and receive the benefit of a tax–deductible contribution your check should be made out to Akwesasne Notes/The Youth Project, and sent to us here at NOTES.

You will receive a letter of receipt that you can keep for your income tax records.

We still do not accept government funds, but we urge you to take advantage of this opportunity to help our message grow.

HOW IT IS WITH US

Putting out NOTES is always a grueling, exhilirating experience.

Sometimes it feels like one is coming from everywhere and going to everywhere.

The voluminous third class mail, the unending calls, the hundred and one hats we all have to wear somehow get compressed and channeled into an overlapping 36–page corridor of sovereign–minded distillation and one morning you wake up, bleary eyed, the car already running while the page numbers get pasted on , for the three–hour drive to the printers.

On the way, you slurp coffee and close your eyes, hoping that the guy driving will last.

It is a time to think it through one more time – the sweetest time, because this time there are no more changes, no more work.

I guess all communicators out there, all Movement newspaper workers, all the small print shops, all of you masochistic deadline-slaves can tell a tale or two of that, eh?

We send you all greetings.

One day, we dream, people will learn to simply talk to one another again and maybe we'll get to spend a few more days out with the kids, do a little fishing, a little hunting, get that damn muffler fixed. In the meantime, though, we keep it up.

And it is a privilege.

We hope you all can use what we do at least as much as we use (and abuse) what you do. And we hope all you artists out there, all you writers, don't curse us too hard when you open up one of these pages and get surprised to see your work on it. Because it is truly a new dimension being forged in these times, and some groups of us may make it.

We hope the Mohawk Nation makes it.

We hope you make it.

We hope AKWESASNE NOTES makes it.

The people at the Racquette Point encampment have asked us to extend a special note of gratitude to the thousands of people who have extended their support during the present crisis. Those groups and individuals are far too numerous to mention here, but the telegrams, telephone calls and letters which have been sent thus far to government officials do make a difference.

And to all the people who have participated in demonstrations – your efforts have been a critical part of the struggle.

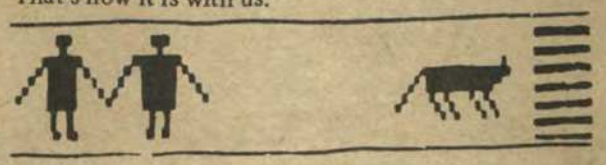
The struggle at Akwesasne isn't over, and in fact may be a long way from conclusion.

AKWESASNE NOTES and the Mohawk Sovereignty Committee continue to be in urgent need of your support. The present confrontation is a clear effort by the authorities to silence AKWESASNE NOTES and to subdue the communities of traditional people who are struggling for their rights of self-determination and self-sufficiency.

Tens of thousands of people receive this newspaper who never help to support this work. We are happy to provide this newspaper to those people who cannot afford it, and we have never seriously considered changing our policy of sending the newspaper to people who want it whether they can pay for it or not. But if you are one of those people who can afford to send a donation, please do so immediately. We may not survive much longer as a publishing entity unless a greater percentage of our readers shoulder the responsibility of supporting this work.

We at NOTES, on the eve that the newspaper goes to press, are exhausted, but we are satisfied that we have put forth our best effort. And tomorrow, when this issue is truly behind us, we will put our minds to the next issue, and our strength will return.

That's how it is with us.



Wholesale Crafts

AKWESASNE NOTES is proud to offer what is probably the finest line of authentic Native crafts available anywhere in North America. Of special interest is the line of hand crafted baskets made of black ash splints and sweet grass. Mohawk basket makers are world famous for their excellent craftsmanship and produce baskets of a quality unsurpassed at any price. These baskets are authentic products made for practical use and the pack baskets, especially, are light-weight, sturdy, and in every way superior to any of the back-pack apparatus made of canvas or aluminum. Other baskets which are available include corn washing baskets, storage baskets, and fancy ewing baskets. There are also kettle baskets, pin cushions, and strawberry baskets.

In addition to baskets, we carry a fine line of beaded moccasins, earrings, necklaces, hair ties, chokers, and other products. Most of these products are one-of-a-kind items. A typical wholesale order would have a retail value of $133. Your price would be $100 plus a few dollars shipping. Order from: Kaientares

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BACK ISSUES FOR $6

The entire set of available back issues of AKWESASNE NOTES is available at $6.00 per set. There are, as supplies hold, approximately twenty-four issues of the newspaper in each set.

Early issues of AKWESASNE NOTES are no longer in print, and our current stock is dwindling. Therefore, we make this offer to people who may have a need of this invaluable repository of information.

HOW TO SUBSCRIBE TO THIS NEWSPAPER

Just write to us, and we'll add your name to the mailing list. There is no fixed subscription price – but that does not mean the paper is free. Printing alone for this issue will cost over $6,000, and rising postage costs will come to about $4,000. And there are other expenses – typesetting equipment, typewriters, ribbons, paper supplies, etc., and that doesn't include costs for bare subsistence for our full-time volunteer staff. We are not funded by universities, governments, or even advertising.

Our money comes from our readers, most of it in small donations such as $1, $5, $10. Some people have lots of money, others have none – we ask people to do what they can. If you want the paper, we're glad to send it to you. If you want to help with the costs, we will appreciate that – your help will assist us in continuing our work.

Another issue will be ready for mailing as soon as funds for printing have accumulated.

THINKING ABOUT MOVING? JUST MOVED?

Let us know right away so we can change your address. If you are not at the address on our list, either the paper will be forwarded at a high cost to you, or it will be destroyed and NOTES will receive a notice for which we have to pay 25 cents. More than five percent of our readers move between issues, and it would mean more than $700 cost to us, plus the loss of more than 3,000 newspapers. Please be sure to send in your old address or an old address label when you send us your new address. That way, you won't be sent two copies, and neither you nor us will need to pay any extra postage.

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KEEP US STRONG!

According to our own estimates, AKWESASNE NOTES is read with interest by over 100,000 readers each issue, and probably reaches conservatively three or four times that number. NOTES is the largest and fastest growing Native newspaper in North America, and we believe that it may be the largest authentic Native publication in the Western world. We are active, and we are growing, we think, because we are serving a unique purpose – to bring to our readers an understanding and a vision of the world which has been all but forgotten by Western Man, and thus inevitably ignored by other publications.

To that end, our writers explore many aspects of concern of our times, from issues usually associated with ecology, to issues dealing with political repression, movements, alternative technology, self-sufficiency, and social analysis. In addition to these objectives, NOTES is also one of the leaders in the publication of Native poetry and is one of the centers of Native art production and distribution. NOTES is more than a news magazine – it is an exploration of Twentieth Century society, a view of these difficult times.

People from all walks of life read and correspond with NOTES. The success of our effort depends on the responses of our readers. We constantly need news clippings of events in Indian country and around the world – the kind of news people should know about. And, of course, we always have a use for photographs, recordings of taped interviews or speeches, and articles which people feel may be of interest to an international audience. Helping NOTES to grow is a way of helping many people gain in consciousness, and reading NOTES is a way of supporting your own personal growth.

We would like to have many more readers of NOTES. You can help this paper grow by encouraging your friends and acquaintances to read some of the articles you think may interest them. NOTES is not simply a Native newspaper – it is a newspaper which has a message for all peoples who are striving in some ways for a better future.

Ours is a most difficult task, for we are trying to help people who have some kind of interest and concern for their people to understand and to unite with other peoples who have what appear on the surface to be separate and different concerns. We believe that the concerned people can come to one mind about their concerns, and we would like to be a part of the process which may help this to happen. But we are, after all, only a newspaper, a reflection – you, the reader, are a participant in the processes which make the kind of life we and our children will lead in this world. We offer our work as a tool in your work – help us grow so that NOTES will be a stronger tool. Promote NOTES – tell people about it, generate interest in the issues we cover. In that way, we will all grow stronger.

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12" – $18.00; 16" – $20.00; 18" – $26.00. All basket orders should be addressed to Kaintares, %AKWESASNE NOTES, Mohawk Nation, via Rooseveltown, N.Y. 13683. Prepaid orders only. Price of packbasket includes harness, postage and handling.

Akwesasne Sovereignty Defended

Killings, Arrests, Siege, Threats Of Attack Persist

The phone rang before 6:00 a.m.. It was Tuesday, August 28, 1979. The voice on the other end sounded very excited.

"The State Police are launching an attack!" the voice said. "They broke into several homes already this morning just a little while ago, and they arrested a woman on Jock Road. State Police cars are massing on the highway, and it looks like this is it!"

Four hours later we were listening to the CB radio about a mile from the encampment at Racquette Point. Roadblocks were up on the main highway, and State Police cars were visible on all the major arteries into Akwesasne.

"I had just reached one of the bunkers", one of the young men said, "and I got out my binoculars. I looked up the road toward the highway, and man, there they were! There were police cars as far up the road as I could see."

Suddenly a report came over the radio from one of the bunkers. "I can see them coming", he said in a quiet voice. "Looks like State Police. They are on foot and carrying weapons."

There was a silence.

"I have a sighting of men coming this way from the Chevy plant parking lot." There was a lot of talk on the radio. There was a report that women and children were being evacuated across the river on a raft. Then another report.

"There are men on foot approaching the perimeter at (name of bunker area). They're fanning out! It looks like they're preparing for an attack!"

There was a silence. Then a lot of radio chatter. The morning wore on, but there was no attack.

"One of our patrols reports that they captured two State Police penetrating the perimeter", a voice said. "They've been released."

The day wore on. A report over the commercial radio stated that a young woman, Harriet Boots, had been arrested at her home at the beginning of the raid. She is a young widow with children. Later, a report came in that Ken Thompson was arrested.

"We would never have thought they'd be wanted", one of the men said. "They didn't do anything. Maybe it's a mistake." Word came that a third person, Douglas George, had been arrested. Then, late in the afternoon, the State Police suddenly left.

That night, we were sitting around the camp talking about the day's events. People agreed that it was a miracle that no one was injured and that no shots were fired. One of the men told of his experience: "I saw two men coming, so I got into a position where I could surprise them. They were scared. One of them was an older guy, a captain or something. They said, 'You're not going to kill us, are you?' I told him, 'Of course not, what kind of people do you think we are?' Then I told them to get out of there."

The people were silent, nervous. There were now warrants for at least twenty-three people. Three had been arrested that day, and there were warrants for twenty more. The women and children were back in camp. People were nervous, but not afraid. "They'll be back", one of the women said. The people nodded. They will be back."

The 370 year struggle for sovereignty being waged by the Mohawk Nation has escalated into a war of nerves which could erupt into violence and tragedy at any moment. The latest phase of the conflict ignited when Chief Loran Thompson and a neighbor, Joe Swamp, accosted a Young Adult Conservation Corps unit which was cutting trees on the Thompson property. Thompson allegedly confiscated equipment from the YACC as evidence of the destruction of his family's property.

Shortly after that, State Police and Akwesasne Police arrived and arrested Thompson on a larceny warrant which had been pressed for by Trustees of New York State's elective system at Akwesasne.

The community was outraged at the brutality of the Thompson arrest. The following week, several hundred people marched on the elective system's offices and demanded the resignation of the Akwesasne police officers who represented New York State's policy of using the code of criminal procedure as a vehicle to effect the outcome of the internal affairs of the Mohawk people. Three of the police officers refused to resign. The people, following the laws and customs of the Mohawk Nation, moved in and disarmed the police and for several hours occupied the building.

Several uneasy weeks followed while a negotiating committee set up by the Mohawk Nation tried to enter into negotiations with the State and the federal government to discuss the situation surrounding a June 8 announcement that a county grand jury had indicted Chief Thompson and Joe Swamp on charges of grand larceny. Chief Thompson had also been charged with resisting arrest. The State rejected all attempts to discuss the matter. The federal government, however, did agree to discuss the issue. A lawyer from the White House staff and an Interior Department official met with representatives of the Mohawk Nation in late July. As a result of that meeting, an agreement was eventually worked out whereby the federal government would replace the trees destroyed by the YACC program and would issue an apology to the people of the Mohawk Nation. The chainsaws would be returned to the BIA and the federal government would work to have the indictments dropped.

That plan fell through when county district attorney Joseph J. Ryan indicated that even if all the other charges were dropped, he would press for the resisting arrest charge against Thompson. Calling the Mohawk people "a bunch of animals", he further indicated that more charges would be forthcoming.

Chief Thompson and Joseph Swamp were instructed by the Mohawk Nation council of chiefs that they were not to submit themselves to the New York State authorities because New York State has no jurisdiction over the territory of the Mohawk Nation. Following those instructions, both men refused to appear for arraignment on July 5 and again on July 27. Judge Jan Plumadore set a third arraignment for August 2. Despite pleas by defense attorneys that arrest warrants not be issued, he signed the arrest warrants on that date. On August 6, county district attorney Ryan convened another session of the grand jury. On August 13, the grand jury handed up 15 more indictments arising out of the incidents at the tribal building on May 29, 1979, charging 21 people in sealed indictments for crimes ranging from conspiracy to assault and robery. "Sealed indictments" means that the names of the persons charged were not made public.

Mohawk Nation chiefs and their supporters gathered in an encampment at Chief Thompson's home to await the next move. There followed two very tense weeks during which State Police made veiled threats of an armed assault against the camp while Mohawk Nation supporters and groups advocating non-violence sent letters and telegrams to state and federal officials expressing horror at the prospect of another massacre of Indians. Numerous attempts to meet with state officials were rebuffed

AKWESASNE CONTINUED NEXT PAGE

AKWESASNE CONTINUED

Then, in late August, Fletcher Graves of the U.S. Department of Justice's Community Relation Service arrived on the scene. He met with members of the elective system and talked to high–ranking officials of New York State. Finally, he came to the encampment to talk with the negotiating committee of the Mohawk Nation.

At the meeting with Graves, the major issues of the previous weeks were laid out. Graves opened the meeting with a solemn statement to the effect that he was extremely disturbed because in his view nobody in the U.S. cares what happens to some Indians in a remote corner of New York State and that the State of New York was determined to enforce its laws at all costs. The only future he could see, he said, is that some people, perhaps a lot of people, are going to get killed. He appeared very grave. Unless, he said, people surrender themselves for an arraignment. He had talked to state officials, and they were determined.

One of the Mohawk chiefs explained the situation to him. Graves was told that the people had come to the chiefs because they were being abused by the Akwesasne police. This had happened a number of times. The people had no one to turn to, so they brought their problems to the chiefs. Things had been getting out of hand, he was told, there were no restraints on the police. Finally, when a chief of the Longhouse and an old woman were beaten by the police, the people turned to the Longhouse for protection. There was no place else for them to turn.

Graves said he was very saddened by the situation as he saw it. He left with a promise that he would try to get a meeting arranged between a member of Carey's staff and the Mohawk people. Up until that time, no one from the state had ever met with anyone from the Mohawk Nation.

The meeting was to take place on August 27 in Massena with Raymond Harding, Special Assistant to Governor Hugh Carey and the head of New York State's national guard. He also heads the state's Liberal Party. In attendance also would be members of the New York State Police.

At that meeting, Mr. Harding said that he had come to hear what it is that the Mohawk people were talking about in a telegram which was sent to the governor, and that he had a message to deliver. His message was blunt:

"The court mandate will be enforced. It is the judgement of responsible authorities on behalf of the State that were the State Police not to exercise their duty under the court mandate, others acting with less restraint would and they would do it in a very short time. In effect, it has taken the combined efforts of some good people, (State Police) Lt. Hunt included, to see to it that up to now others did not do so; all in an effort and out of a spirit not to take lives, not to shed blood needlessly.

"But the time has come where we have made a judgement to minimize, to mitigate loss of life, the letting of blood, it is more responsible, it is in the long run less painful for the State to execute those warrants rather than to stand by and let others do it and those others would be acting under the mandate of law as well...The time has come for us to execute the warrants – if not today, then tomorrow, if not tomorrow then the next day, if not the next day then next week, and the State Police will execute those warrants."

The reference to the "others acting with less restraint" was a lightly veiled threat that the State might let loose the vigilante groups which had already been formed and were allegedly armed. It was an incredible statement by a representative of the State's executive – a threat that if State Police didn't enforce the warrants, armed vigilantes would, and the vigilantes would be protected by State law. It was a threat no one in the room doubted was real. Mohawk people issued a press release that afternoon:

"Mohawk people responded that the effort to execute the warrants would endanger the lives of a great number of people, including members of the State Police and men, women, and children of the Mohawk Nation. The problem, he was told, arises out of the fact that New York State and the United States take the position that they are willing to kill people in order to prove that they have the power. Mr. Harding was totally impassive. He repeated in a loud sonorous voice that the warrants will be executed, that the State must follow its laws, and that the decision to this effect had already been made. Mohawk people offered that the Governor had the power under valid interpretations of the federal law to intercede in the case and to take actions to lift the warrants and the pending court actions.

"Several spokesmen from the Mohawks made eloquent statements employing the State to act to uphold the treaties of peace and friendship made between the U.S. and the Six Nations. They pointed to the Treaty of Canandaigua which contains provisions for the resolution of conflicts and that those provisions could be invoked at this time to avoid a tragedy at Akwesasne.

"Mr. Harding was unresponsive to those pleas to take actions which would remove from danger the lives of children and elders of the Mohawk people. He simply repeated that New York had already made a decision to enforce the warrants. Statements of recent days to the press which indicated that no violence would be employed in the service of warrants were absent from Harding's statements. Absent also was the slightest concern that the State's proposed course of action could lead to violence and bloodshed."

The next morning at about 5:00 a.m. the State Police, accompanied by Akwesasne Police, swept into Akwesasne. They arrested Harriet Boots, 24, of Jock Road, although the description of the woman which appeared in the newspapers described her sister–in–law, also of the same name. They broke through the door at Chief Swamp's home and put a shotgun to his wife's head while she was still in bed, and they entered Chief Porter's home. By 5:45 a.m. a military buildup of State Police and Olympic Village SWAT team personnel was visible from the perimeter of the encampment at Racquette Point. State Police aircraft circled overhead while ground units fanned out and encircled the camp.

"THE U.S. AND THE STATE OF NEW YORK CONTINUE TO TAKE THE POSITION THAT THEY HAVE AN UNFETTERED RIGHT TO ABROGATE TREATY AGREEMENTS WITH THE MOHAWKS AND IMPOSE THEIR JURISDICTION ON THEM. *THE MOHAWK NATION AND THE SIX* NATIONS CONFEDERACY REGARD THIS POSITION TAKEN BY THE UNITED STATES AS A BARE VIOLATION OF TREATY AGREEMENTS, INTERNATIONAL LAW, AND FUNDAMENTAL HUMAN RIGHTS."

A telephone campaign then began to generate telephone and telegram messages aimed at the governor's office expressing alarm and horror at the prospect of another Indian massacre. That effort was successful to the extent that by 3:15 p.m., after more than nine hours of a Wounded Knee–type siege, State Police forces withdrew from the immediate scene and commenced to patrol the highways. Two other people were arrested on the highway without incident.

The Mohawk people viewed the State's actions in the larger context of the State's relations with Native peoples. In describing the pre–dawn raid and the State's apparent determination to destroy the traditional people of the Mohawk Nation, an August 28 press release stated:

"This action was the latest move by New York State in the largest land swindle of Indian people by New York this century. The issues involve claims to lands asserted by the Mohawk, Oneida and Cayuga people and the State's effort to quiet opposition within the Indian communities to the 'settlement' proposed by the State. New York's representatives have threatened a murderous assault against an encampment of traditional people of the Mohawk Nation and others of the Six Nations on Racquette Point on Akwesasne Mohawk Territory in an attempt to focus public attention away from the land claims issues and quiet the opposition to the settlements. State Police roadblocks have sealed off access to the encampment and the area is under a state of siege...

"Chief Loran Thompson is a traditional Chief of the Mohawk Nation. The traditional Mohawks are those who have retained their laws and customs, language and religion. They are in opposition to the system of trustees, the government which the New York State initially created and recognized in the original land swindles of the early 1800s which gave rise to the present land claims. New York law recognized three men as the authorized representatives of the Mohawk Nation in 1802 because the traditional Chiefs would not agree to the sale of lands at that time. Some of those land sales are now regarded as improper, but the system of the elected trustees is still in place and New York has moved vigorously to settle its claim with those trustees...

"The indictments, although ostensibly criminal charges, are in reality political acts directed at the destruction of traditional Indian governments in New York. It is almost inconceivable that the State would press these charges to the point of an armed assault aginst the men, women, and children of the Mohawk Nation. The issues, however, involve title to millions of acres of land in New York State and billions of dollars. New York is currently negotiating the claims with a 'government' unconstitutionally established and imposed by State law. Settlement would involve the extinguishing of title to the enormous land claim in return for a token payment to the St. Regis Tribal Council...

"...One of the Chiefs af the Mohawk Nation expressed the feelings of the people inside the encampment to Governor Carey's aide, Roy Harding, yesterday. He said that, 'the people had discussed the dangers they faced and they decided that the result of an armed assault would probably be that most of the men, women, and children inside would be killed. But, if any of the children do survive, arrangements have been made that those children in the traditional ways. And 30 years from now, you will face them just as you are facing us today.'"

On the same day, a statement was read by Ms. Amy Young–Anawaty to the Commission on Human Rights, Sub–Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities at a meeting in Geneva, Switzerland. That statement read:

"Mr. Chairman, at this very moment we have reports that New York State police have surrounded a large group of traditional Mohawks in upstate New York, threatening to make an armed assault. New York State police are now in a situation of armed confrontation with the people on the lands reserved to the Mohawk Nation in order to make arrests pursuant to secret indictments handed down by New York courts. While the arrests are for *ostensibly* criminal charges relating to efforts by the Mohawks to stop the enforcement of New York State laws within their own territory, the Mohawk perceive this pending invasion as a political attempt to override the laws of the Mohawk Nation and to abrogate their ancient rights to self–government.

"The right to self–government and sovereignty over their lands was guaranteed to the Mohawks by treaties in 1784 and 1794. A serious abrogation of those treaties was a relatively recent act by Congress attempting to extend the laws of New York State over the Mohawk people and lands, despite their protest and without their consent. New York State authorities thereafter established a special police force specifically to enforce New York State laws within Mohawk lands, in direct contravention to their clear right of self–government. The Mohawk people have continually protested against the presence of this police force which enforces the laws of an alien jurisdiction on their territory in violation of the treaties of 1784 and 1794.

"The present situation which has resulted in criminal charges being brought against 15 – 20 Mohawks, including a number of their chiefs, concerns their most

AKWESASNE CONTINUED NEXT PAGE

recent attempts to rid themselves of a police force they consider to be operating illegally on their lands and in violation of treaties. Mohawk chiefs have now demanded the immediate resignation of members of that special police force on their lands.

"This final measure of protestation against the police forces was precipitated by an incident which illustrates the disregard of New York State authorities for the treaties and the rights of the Mohawk Nation to self–government...

"Acts of New York State police, in a pattern of conduct over a period of years to forcibly impose New York State jurisdiction upon the Mohawks is most recently illustrated by this unwarranted arrest of Chief Thompson. These actions led the Mohawk Council of Chiefs to demand the removal of police from the Mohawk territory.

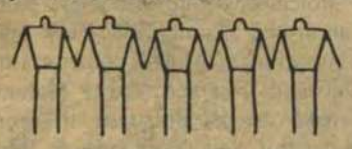
"The demands of the Council of Chiefs were not met and consequently, Mohawk warriors – using a minimum of force and unarmed – forcibly disarmed the police and removed them from their offices. This action was a political and moral act to vindicate their treaty agreement with the U.S. and the end the unlawful police presence on their land...

"The U.S. and the State of New York continue to take the position that they have the unfettered right to abrogate treaty agreements with the Mohawks and impose their jurisdiction on them. The Mohawk Nation and the Six Nations Confederacy regard this position taken by the U.S. as a bare violation of treaty agreements, international law, and fundamental human rights."

The three people who were arrested were released on bail posted by a National Council of Churches representative on September 5, 1979. The next day, internationally–known lawyer William Kunstler arrived at Akwesasne for a meeting with the Mohawk Nation. He offered to represent Mohawk people at what appear to be impending trials.

In the days that followed, the tension grew steadily. A petition was circulated through the community which was signed by about one–third of the voting members of the elective system, calling for an investigation into the affairs of the Trustees. That petition was forwarded to the Secretary of the Interior. Statements were taken from a number of people alleging brutal treatment at the hands of the Akwesasne Police. An FBI agent eventually materialized who began to take those statements. People reported sighting State Police on Cornwall Island and in St. Regis Village (Quebec) in clear and flagrant violation of the border. The State Police denied that their officers ever violate the border.

Then, on September 18, news circulated through the community that at 2:45 a.m. an Akwesasne (Quebec)



police officer had been shot and killed by a white farmer on the Drum Street Road in Fort Covington, a community a few miles from Akwesasne. According to police reports, Richard Cook was killed when he grabed a shotgun held by Mr. Lester Barney and the weapon discharged.

On October 15, Richard Powless of Hogansburg was arrested in Massena and charged with three counts of second–degree robery, two counts of second–degree assault, and one count of fourth–degree conspiracy. All of those charges stemmed from the incident on May 29. Bail was set at $20,000. Two other Mohawk men, Matt Herne and Lawrence Daniel Jacobs were arrested earlier on out–of–state warrants, Herne in Kentucky, and Jacobs in Utah.

On October 18, 1979, the Franklin County Grand Jury returned no charges in the fatal shooting of Richard Cook. On October 20, David Cross, 28, was shot and killed in Caughnawaga by a Quebec Provincial Police officer. Cross had been involved in a chase which arose out of a speeding charge and had arrived at his home when Quebec Provincial Police followed him into his driveway. According to accounts, Cross became angered when the police attempted to arrest his brother and he hit the police *cruiser* with a broomhandle. The driver of the police car allegedly opened the door and shot him three times. The next day, the only two eyewitnesses to the September 18 shooting of Richard Cook signed statements which charged that Cook had been gunned down without provocation and without warning. The Mohawk Nation issued a press release which stated, in part:

"(District Attorney) Ryan has been very vigorous in eliciting felony indictments from the Grand Jury in matters involving the internal affairs of the Mohawk Nation, but somehow could not find any basis for criminal charges in an incident that resulted in the death of Richard Cook, a Mohawk man, at the hands of Lester Barney, a white man. These facts raise serious questions about whether a double standard of justice exists in Franklin County – one standard of justice for Indian people, and a separate standard of justice for white people."

And on October 24, David Deer, 24, of Ganienkeh was arrested and charged with four counts arising out of the May 29 occupation of the tribal buildings. He was arrested on the highway while returning from the funeral of David Cross. Bail was set at $15,000.

As we go to press, the situation at Akwesasne can be best described as one of rising tension. There is a feeling that there is an "open season" on Indians and that people are not being afforded any protection from provincial or state governments. Serious questions concerning violations of people's rights to equal protection under law and the right of self–determination are being ignored by officials in Albany, Washington, and Ottawa. People who have written Governor Carey have received a form letter stating that New York is acting against the Mohawk Nation under authority granted by Congress and the treaty of Canandaigua. Both of those statements are false readings of the law and are designed to give the color of justification to New York's actions in enforcing a political decision to determine the outcome of the internal affairs of the Mohawk people.

The Mohawk Nation continues to be in desperate need of all forms of assistance in their resistance to this continued abuse of their human and sovereign rights. Money and letters of support should be directed to the Mohawk Sovereignty Committee, P.O. Box 288, Rooseveltown, New York 13683.

Letters and telegrams expressing support for the Mohawk Nation should be addressed to Governor Carey, State of New York, Executive Chamber, Albany, N.Y. 12224. Letters and telegrams should also be addressed to President Carter, The White House, Washington, D.C. – Mr. Kurt Waldheim, Secretary General United Nations, United Nations Plaza, New York, New York – Mr. Theo Van Boven, Director U.N. Human Rights Commission, Palais des Nations, Geneva, Switzerland – and Mr. Leo Krulitz, Office of the Solicitor, Department of the Interior, Washington, D.C..

IF YOU'RE EVER IN PARAGUAY..

(Dr. Richard Arens is a Professor of Law at Temple University. He is an impressive appearing and articulate man with the mannerisms associated with a law professor, and we found his delivery to be peppered with the kind of erudite skepticism which we have come to expect from men of his profession. He appeared at a meeting in Washington, D.C. on March 28, 1979, to explain his concepts of human rights under international law, and he also spoke of his experiences in Paraguay. Dr. Arens is the author of **Genocide in Paraguay**, *a hard-hitting book which exposes the role of the Paraguayan government in the extermination of the Ache Indians of the Paraguayan forest. Professor Arens stated that he was invited to Paraguay by the Paraguayan government which has denied virtually every allegation and statement of fact contained in Dr. Arens' book. The Paraguayan government extended the invitation to Dr. Arens to "see for yourself" that conditions of Indians in Paraguay were vastly different from those described in the book. The following was excerpted from Professor Arens' verbal account of his visit.)*

I went (to Paraguay) on what I knew would be a conducted tour. I took it for granted that I would see next to nothing, but at least, I thought, maybe I'd see something. The funny thing was that the total lack of sensitivity towards human suffering of the Paraguayan Government was so dramatic that I saw an awful lot more than I anticipated. Yes, I was taken on a conducted tour of reservations that the Paraguayan Government regarded as fit for inspection.

(One reservation) was run by the U.S. government, by a priest, incidentally, who told me that thirty Indians had been shot dead near his reservation less than two years ago, and that he expected an imminent resumption of manhunts. (He said) that he wanted to inform the American embassy about it but was afraid that he would never reach the American embassy alive. He had already been threatened that "good priests drop dead". He didn't drop dead – he was permitted to die lingeringly in the jungle during an illness which lasted two weeks. The Peace Corps offices did not see fit to order a helicopter which was made available to me, but not to him, to airlift him from the jungle to one of the hospitals in Asuncion.

In none of the Indian reservations did I fail to see (with one exception [noted in previous paragraph – Ed.]) an Indian who was dying. I saw a number of Indians who were suffering, who were emaciated, who were sometimes bloated (particularly true of children) as a result of starvation or protein deficiency which brings about a disease known as kwashiorkor with which some of you may be familiar.

Of course, if I had seen absolutely nothing, I would have been convinced by my last interview. Our ambassador to Paraguay insisted that I interview General Samaniego who started out the interview by offering me a bribe. It wasn't a very direct bribe, it was a gentleman's bribe. He said, "Paraguay is the only South American country which doesn't have any iron curtain embassies. It has the stablest economy in South America. Even a very modest investment in South American real property would bring back very rapid and generous dividends. Of course, you need to have the proper guidance. But you look like a reasonable man, and I see no reason why you should not receive the proper guidance."

When I said, "Mr. Minister, I thought I had come to discuss with you the fate of the forest Indians," he pressed a buzzer and in goose-stepped, and it was literally the Nazi–type goose–step, six uniformed characters who escorted me into another room. I wasn't altogether sure that I would be permitted to leave that room unharmed or whether I would be taken to a torture chamber because the conversation from there on was no longer up to me. I was told such things as, "anybody who puts a book like this (meaning *Genocide in Paraguay* – Ed.) is obviously interested in subverting

PARAGUAY CONTINUED PAGE 13

"Catch 22"--B.I.A. Style

An Interview with Forrest Gerard

The Undersecretary of Interior for Indian Affairs is a Mr. Forrest Gerard. His offices are located at the end of one of the wings in the Department of Interior Building in Washington. He is the top U.S. official in charge of Indian Affairs.

Two representatives from AKWESASNE NOTES, John Mohawk (JM) and Daniel Bomberry(DB), went there on October 18, 1979 to interview Mr. Gerard (FG) and Mr. Hans Walker (HW), a member of the Solicitor's Office of the Department of Interior. We talked for about 1½ hours. The following report consists of excerpts from that interview. Considerable reference was made in the interview to a memorandum from Mr. Gerard's office to Mr. Cecil Andrus, the Secretary of the Interior. That memorandum outlined the Solicitor's position that the Six Nations Confederacy no longer exists as a governmental entity and that the U.S. does not recognize it as such. Some of the interview was deleted because it was repititious and a few sentences of the interviewer are paraphrased. Mr. Gerard's and Mr. Walker's statements are not paraphrased.

We came to discuss the Akwesasne situation. Here is what was said.

JOHN MOHAWK: I thought it would be useful if we began this interview by asking you if you had any questions about the situation at Akwesasne.

FORREST GERARD: Well, OK, if you want to turn it around that way. What is the latest situation as you see it up there?Where I left it – and this was a few weeks ago – the State (New York) authorities had withdrawn. They were not going to move in on the Thompson property. They (New York State) weren't going to seek any confrontation. My understanding of this thing is that the State of New York because of the 1948 Statute clearly possesses criminal jurisdiction. I appreciate that the traditionalists don't recognize that. But in terms of any kind of a policy, we have to assume – we took the position – that because of that 1948 statute, there is no federal jurisdiction in the area of criminal jurisdiction. Then we get into the on–going problem that we have not only there but in a couple of other reservations where there is an elective type of government and the traditional. Basically our policy is one of dealing government to government. We recognize, of course, the elective.

JM: The situation as it stands now is something of a Mexican standoff. There is a continued encampment of people and the State (NY) continues to press for the service of warrants which were issued under sealed indictments. It has the flavor of a siege in the sense that the State has warrants out and people don't know who the warrants were for. The State position is that they will serve the warrants. They have apparently decided, – because it was politically inopportune – (that they will) not mount an armed assault against the people. So you have a situation which to all the world looks like a siege of Indian people by the State...You are aware that most of these indictments arise out of an occupation of tribal buildings on May 29?

FG: Yes, I am.

JM: That occupation arose specifically out of an internal dispute at Akwesasne between two groups. . . Would you agree that it looks like this is something of an internal disorder?

FG: I would accept that characterization, just as the Red Lake thing has to be viewed as an internal dispute.

JM: The State says that State jurisdiction is derived from a 1948 (federal) Criminal Jurisdiction Act. Is it possible, in your opinion, that the 1948 Act may have placed limitations – or that Congress' act of extending criminal jurisdiction over an Indian group might not be exactly the same as Congress' extension of criminal jurisdiction to New York State over some federal property. Would you agree with that possibility?

FG: That was one of the first questions I acted...Who had jurisdiction in this situation?In posing that kind of question I had to turn to the Solicitor's Office. They looked at the statutes, and in their opinion the 1948 statute clearly extended that jurisdiction. I'm not clear about what you mean by 'limitations'. Unfortunately the 1948 statute was followed by a broader statute in the 50s – during the Termination era – under Public Law 280.

JM: But there were specific states named in Public Law 280?

FG: Yes

JM: We have a long–standing dispute (at Akwesasne). New York State took the initiative in creating a government at Akwesasne. Are you familiar with that history?

FG: Not thoroughly. I'm not as familiar with the N.Y. tribal governmental problems as I am elsewhere.

FG: I DONT' KNOW IF WE GOT INTO THAT QUESTION. I'M TRYING TO STAY WITH THE ISSUE THAT IS IN FRONT OF US.

JM: WOULDN'T THE ISSUE OF THE LEGITIMACY OF THAT FORM OF GOVERNMENT BE AN ISSUE IF YOU ARE GIVING (THAT GOVERNMENT) RECOGNITION?

FG: HAS IT EVER BEEN CHALLENGED IN THE PAST?

JM: IT HAS BEEN CHALLENGED CONSISTENTLY BUT THERE IS NO MECHANISM, AS YOU MUST KNOW, TO CHALLENGE IT IN ANY FEDERAL COURT SYSTEM AS IT HAS BEEN AN UNRECOGNIZED ENTITY. IT WAS UNRECOGNIZED UNTIL YOUR MEMORANDUM STATED THAT THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT RECOGNIZED. . .

FG: I DON'T THINK MY MEMORANDUM IS THE FIRST RECOGNITION OF THE ELECTED GOVERNMENT. I THINK LONG BEFORE MY ARRIVAL HERE, HADN'T MY PREDECESSORS BEEN DEALING WITH THAT ELECTED GOVERNMENT?

JM: BECAUSE SOMEBODY DOES SOMETHING LIKE THAT, THAT DOESN'T MAKE IT LEGAL, RIGHT? OR IS THERE SOME DOCUMENTATION THAT WE CAN LOOK AT IN WHICH THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT GAVE THAT RECOGNITION PRIOR TO THIS RECENT MEMORANDUM?

FG: I WOULD ASSUME THAT THEY ARE VIEWED AS A LEGITIMATE BODY FOR A WHOLE ARRAY OF FEDERAL FUNDING AND GRANT PROGRAMS BY AGENCIES EVEN BEYOND INTERIOR.

JM: WHAT I'M GETTING AT IS, HOW COME? UNDER WHAT AUTHORITY ARE THEY RECOGNIZED IN THAT RESPECT. IS WHAT HAPPENED IS THAT SOME REGIONAL INDIAN AFFAIRS DIRECTOR MADE THAT DECISION AND IF HE DID WHEN, AND WHERE, AND WHAT IS THE LEGAL BASIS FOR THIS RECOGNITION?

JM: New York State in 1802 recognized 3 men as the Trustees (for the Mohawk Indians) for the purpose of a land transfer. That action culminated in several treaties which are now found to have been illegal under the 1790 Non–Intercourse Act. New York State entered into a strategy to obtain title to Mohawk lands by unilaterally recognizing three Trustees as having power to transfer land out of the title of the Mohawk Nation and into State title. That policy was translated in 1893 into statute law in New York under which New York State created a government, for several limited purposes, at St. Regis. Not long ago the Interior Department - specifically your own office – handed to the Secretary of Interior a memorandum outlining the position of the Interior Department's recognition of the validity of this Trusteeship. Was there any research into the powers of New York to create under federal law an Indian government at St. Regis in 1893?

FG: I don't know if we got into that question. I'm trying to stay with the issue that is in front of us.

JM: Wouldn't the issue of the legitimacy of that form of government be an issue if you are giving (that government) recognition?

FG: Has it ever been challenged in the past?

JM: It has been challenged consistently but there is no mechanism, as you must know, to challenge it in any federal court system as it has been an unrecognized entity. It was unrecognized until your memorandum stated that the federal government recognized...

FG: I don't think my memorandum is the first recognition of the elected government. I think long before my arrival here, hadn't my predecessors been dealing with that elected government?

JM: Because somebody does something like that, that doesn't make it legal, right? Or is there some documentation that we can look at in which the federal government gave that recognition prior to this recent memorandum?

FG: I would assume that they are viewed as a legitimate body for a whole array of federal funding and grant programs by agencies even beyond Interior.

JM: What I'm getting at is how come Under what authority are they recognized in that respect. Is what happened is that some regional Indian Affairs director made that decision and if he did, when, and where, and what is the legal basis for this recognition?.

FG: Let's back up a little bit here. I presume that the electives are contitutional by laws. Would that have been approved at any level either by the Bureau or the Dept. (of Interior)?

HW: What I think happened was that this was a group that was originally recognized by the State(NY) and didn't come under federal recognition until very recently.

JM: I don't think we can find any documentation that New York State *recognized* that government – they *created* it! There's a huge difference. It was created under State law.

HW: . . . I think some time under Commissioner Bruce's administration the question was whether or not the U.S. should extend it's programs to the. . .

FG: I think you're correct. . . .

HW: . . . Now I suppose your question is that we snouldn't have done that, we should've...not recognized them and you're suggesting...

JM: I'm not suggesting anything. I'm trying to find out what people here know because we have a really serious volatile situation here.

HW: I think Louie Bruce was in the ( ) at the time and he would probably have a good idea about what transpired. Right off hand I couldn't tell you.

JM: In the memorandum you sent to (Secretary of Interior) Cecil Andrus, there was a statement to the effect that extensive research had gone into checking out whether or not there was (or should be) recognition of – two groups – the Six Nations and the Mohawk Nation. I'm trying to find out the nature of that extensive research since everything I can find through every source I have available to me tells me that there are some serious research question that were never resolved.

HW: Well the lawyer who did it was concerned with the treaties and the history of the so–called Six Nations and whether or not the validity of that group – part of which apparently is in Canada – whether the concerns of that group should override or take precedence over governments which appear to be in power there. . .

FG: That was in 1971 under Louis Bruce.

HW: That's right, Louie Bruce. I suppose Louie Bruce. . . he maybe recognized the wrong goverment.

BIA–STYLE CONT'D NEXT PAGE

JM: I have a question about whether he really recognized (the Elected System) or whether he, in seeking somebody to deal with in terms of grant proposals, he recognized them for that purpose. That may or may not have been an administrative function of his office. But we are dealing with a distinct and separate question when we talk about how that ("recognition") applies to criminal jurisdiction there. I can't find anywhere in any federal law, or in any federal court decision anywhere that New York State has an authority to create by statute law a government for an Indian reservation.

HW: That's a separate question – whether or not Congress did enact. . . you've got to recognize that Congress has plenary authority over Indians no matter what kind of government they have. . . Now in 1948 they passed an Act that granted criminal and civil jurisdiction over all Indians in New York to the State of New York. It doesn't make any difference what kind of government (they had). . . The State was granted jurisdiction.

JM: If New York State doesn't have an authority from Congress to create a government for an Indian Nation or tribe, then in doing so that act would be against federal law, wouldn t you say?

HW: I don't know if it's against federal law. It's probably invalid because there's no basis for it.

FG: Let me pose this question, because this is the first time this has entered into it in all the activity that resulted following the situation up there. The question did not surface. Throughout all these years, have the opponents of the elected government ever tried to test that question in the courts?

JM: (The question) can't be tested in the courts. Who can you sue?Everybody's immune from law suit who could be sued. You asked earlier if (the Elected System) exists under some form of constitution. The answer to that is no. They do not have a constitutional government. The only historical origin for that government is New York State's 1893 statute creating three tribal trustees for a specific number of purposes.

FG: New York, like the other colonies, had a relationship with the tribe and retained some residual responsibility apparently.

JM: But the federal courts have recognized again and again that New York State does not have plenary power over the Indians in New York, that the federal government has distinct and overriding authority there.

FG: I don't think there's any question about that.

JM: Then the federal laws do apply in New York that's the position that the Interior Department has to work under. . .

FG: With the exception of the 1948 statute which extended criminal and civil jurisdiction.

JM: But even if we accept that, then we have to accept that federal authority is the origin of that, okay?

FG: Right.

JM: Now we've got a situation where we have a 1948 statute and there is in place there a previously existing government which was probably not legal under federal law.

HW: Let me ask you a question. Do the members of the tribe have a vote in the elections?

JM: A few of them do, and a lot don't.

HW: But they all have an opportunity to vote though?

JM: Not all. Some.

HW: I mean, minors excepted.

JM: No. There are historical limitations. Not everybody at Akwesasne has the right to vote there. The State's laws define Akwesasne as a territory divided in half – one half is on the "American" side and the other half's on what they call the "Canadian side." That makes things very complicated because some people lose their right to be on one roll or the other through marriage.

FG: O.K.

JM: I want to get back to this position paper which indicates that an enormous amount of research has been done by the Solicitor's office and. . .

FG: I wouldn't characterize it as an *enormous* amount. . .

JM: Well, it must be a *competent* amount of research at least, into who the rightful governing body should be at Akwesasne. The conclusion that they came to is that the proper governing body is this. . .

FG: Which has been in place for a hundred years or so.

JM: Well, it's been in place, and its' been out of place, right?

FG: But look, here's the other side of the coin. In 1971, rightly or wrongly, when Bruce made this decision that yes, federal services could be extended to this. . .OK? . . (he) recognized that goverment. Apparently the U.S. government has permitted them to take other actions in an official capacity. . . and they are dealing with other federal agencies. . .

JM: I'm having a problem. If the argument is that since there's a history of their activity that (history) makes their activity legal. That's not a principle of law, is it?

FG: No one has really challenged it or proven one way or another that the original establishment was legal.

JM: That's not really fair because the federal courts don't allow a challenge of that.

FG: That could be reviewed. We could request a Solicitor's opinion. I suppose, huh?I think there are other avenues.

JM: I WANT TO GET BACK TO THIS POSITION PAPER WHICH INDICATES THAT AN ENORMOUS AMOUNT OF RESEARCH HAS BEEN DONE BY THE SOLICITOR'S OFFICE AND. . .

FG: I WOULDN'T CHARACTERIZE IT AS AN *ENORMOUS* AMOUNT. . .

JM: WELL, IT MUST BE A *COMPETENT* AMOUNT OF RESEARCH AT LEAST, INTO WHO THE RIGHTFUL GOVERNING BODY SHOULD BE AT AKWESASNE. THE CONCLUSION THAT THEY CAME TO IS THAT THE PROPER GOVERNING BODY IS THIS. . .

FG: WHICH HAS BEEN IN PLACE FOR A HUNDRED YEARS OR SO.

JM: WELL, IT'S BEEN IN PLACE, AND IT'S BEEN OUT OF PLACE, RIGHT?

FG: BUT LOOK, HERE'S THE OTHER SIDE OF THE COIN. IN 1971, RIGHTLY OR WRONGLY, WHEN BRUCE MADE HIS DECISION THAT YES, FEDERAL SERVICES COULD BE EXTENDED TO THIS GROUP . . . OK . . . (HE) RECOGNIZED THAT GOVERNMENT. APPARENTLY THE US GOVERNMENT HAS PERMITTED THEM TO TAKE OTHER ACTIONS IN AN OFFICIAL CAPACITY . . . AND THEY ARE DEALING WITH OTHER FEDERAL AGENCIES. . .

JM: I'M HAVING A PROBLEM. IF THE ARGUMENT IS THAT SINCE THERE'S A HISTORY OF THIS ACTIVITY THAT (HISTORY) MAKE THEIR ACTIVITY LEGAL. THAT'S NOT A PRINCIPLE OF LAW IS IT?

FG: NO ONE HAS REALLY CHALLENGED IT OR PROVEN ONE WAY OR ANOTHER THAT THE ORIGINAL ESTABLISHMENT WAS LEGAL.

JM: THAT'S NOT FAIR BECAUSE THE FEDERAL COURTS DON'T ALLOW A CHALLENGE TO THAT.

HW: All that time you were under State law there must have been a challenge in over a hundred years.

JM: I don't believe there's a procedure under State law. Our lawyers don't believe there's a procedure under state law.

HW: Over all that time nobody's every challenged the constitutionality of that original. . .

FG: Where's the due process?

JM: There's no due process, that's the point!

HW: I don't understand that because the sovereign immunity doctrine is not a state law, that's a federal law. . .

JM: When the matter of a suit arises against the Trustees, the State Trustees claim sovereign immunity as an Indian Tribe. The State courts recognize that. My point is that we have a solicitor's opinion which went to the member of the Cabinet who is responsible for policy affecting Indian groups. . .

HW: How about the Treaty with the 7 Nations of Canada, May 31, 1796, which was ratified by Congress. Did that not deal with the (question) of government?

JM: Not a word.

FG: Somebody's lawyers had better go back and review some of this.

JM: I would think somebody's lawyers should. We have a group of people encamped up there. There are two avenues by which that situation could be resolved. One avenue involves a State resolution, and the other is a federal one. The federal position is that this is a state problem because of a 1948 law. . . We have a memorandum which does not take a hard look at how the government there came to be constituted...

FG: I'm not going to accept that. I think that there has to be an assumption of the State of New York's dealing with the tribe that was not without some form of foundation. I'm certain there must have been treaties, some State statutes because of their original relationship with the tribe.

JM: You think there must be some legal basis. Do you think there could have been some *illegal* basis?

FG: I remain unconvinced that there wasn't some avenue in which that action could have been challenged.

JM: Did you ever hear of the Political Question Doctrine?

FG: I haven't.

JM: Oh. There's a doctrine of law that holds that courts can't interfere in the "political" decisions of the governments they are under. Therefore the State courts would say, and have said, that they can't look into whether or not the elective system is legal because that's a political question that was determined by the state legislature. There's no way to bring the same question under federal law because federal court will say that (St. Regis) isn't a federal reservation. That's why it hasn't been challenged in the courts. It can't be challenged.

JM: I'd like to talk some more about this memorandum from the Solicitor's office to Mr. Andrus. It states rather clearly that recognition of the elective system arises out of this careful (investigation) of its history. I'd like to challenge that.

FG: Before you do, though, in fairness to the attorneys who looked into it, I think you have to reserve some judgment that they did not enter into some careless analysis. . .

JM: Give me the names of these men and I'll call them up and ask them.

FG: I think we recognize the importance of this issue – all of us were interested in trying to resolve a very difficult and volatile situation. I don't think it's fair to imply that we were insensitive and did some haphazard research in dealing with this thing...

JM: . . . I think that that happened. I think that anyone who did careful research into the history there would find that some of the statements in that document are simply untrue. . .

FG: . . . I would have to take the position until proven otherwise – show me that the State of New York did *not* have the authority to do so. What do you base your assertions on?

JM: If you were presented with material supporting (my position) would you act on it?

FG: We'd certainly take a look at it. Tell me in layman's terms why you feel the State of New York has taken an illegal action.

JM: I think New York State has no business interfering in the internal affairs of an Indian people, and that to pass statutes creating a government. . .

FG: I could say that's an emotional opinion.

JM: No, I think it's a legal opinion.

FG: Based on what?Because they lack clear authority to do so. You feel there was no treaty or statute that might have given them. . .

JM: There are treaties which deny them that authority. The Treaty of 1842 denies them that. It says that the federal government recognizes and guarantees that they will have their own form of government. And although I can hear the argument coming back that New York is going to decide for them what their own form of government is, that's double–talk and you know it and I know it.

BIA–STYLE CONT'D NEXT PAGE

BIA–STYLE CONTINUED

HW: Did they make treaties with the State (New York)?

JM: Oh, yes. Those were all illegal under the law, by the way.

HW: They (the Indians) apparently recognized the authority of the State (in treating with them).

JM: Listen now. I explained earlier that the State recognized the guys they wanted to and they made treaties with the people they wanted to. They didn't make treaties with the Mohawk Nation, they made agreements with those lackeys they could find in 1802 and later who would sign away the land for peanuts. We are inheriting a government that became created by statute law out of that custom of looking for the three biggest sellouts they could find. . .

In 1948, a reform group ran for office. They won. They put up a referendum. The people voted 13 – 1 in favor of the traditional form of government. They wrote a letter to the State telling them that they resigned and didn't want that government anymore. The next year State Police conducted an election in a fire hall off the reservation.

FG: Okay, we're sitting here now faced with a problem. What is it you want us to do?

JM: In 1948, Congress passed an Act giving criminal jurisdiction over Indians to New York State. In the legislative history, we can find a statement of the intent of that legislation. The report stated that in those cases where no Indian law presently exists, the laws of New York State are to provide a supplement. Now we are caught in a situation where the State law is in conflict with an Indian people who are trying to act out what they believe to be the impelling force of their own laws and customs.

FG: It seems to me that it's irrelevant which government is in power there. The question has to do with the plenary powers of Congress.

JM: I don't agree with that – it is very much a question of which government is in place. But I'm not asking you to decide which government is going to sit in power there. I don't think you should decide that question. I think the Mohawks ought to decide that.

FG: I think they should decide their own internal affairs.

JM: But that's not what's happening, is it?Outside forces are deciding what their internal affairs are going to be! The headlines in upstate New York indicate that the Solicitor says that the Elected chiefs are the government at St. Regis. In big headlines. The Solicitors actions in making those statements has that effect.

JM: The State is saying that this problem is really a federal question, and that all they can do is to follow their code of criminal procedure because that's the only law they have which applies. The federal government says that they can't touch it because of a 1948 statute granting jurisdiction to the State. What we have now are State Troopers surrounding Indian people on Indian land over an Indian question that arises out of an internal conflict that was caused by the actions of New York State and the federal government.

HW: Are you saying that if one member of faction A or faction B were to assault each other, that because that arose out of a political context that no one has jurisdiction over that because the basis of that is a conflict between two groups?

FG: Let's talk about a hypothetical case where there's a civil disorder and there are other innocent people who may stand to be injured in the process. Do they have any rights?

JM: One of the answers that I seem to see coming out of the Interior Department is that when something like that happens you stick your head in the sand and wait for the shooting to stop! Is that a good idea?

FG: No, I don't think. . . .

JM: That's what happened at Red Lake.

HW: No, that's not true! What we're saying is that here we have a crime – an assault, or murder or whatever. Now what you're saying is that is of no effect under a grant of criminal jurisdiction if the basis that impelled that action was political. That's never been an acceptable doctrine anyplace.

JM: No, that's not what I'm saying. There are instances in which something that happens is not a simple criminal act or a criminal question. . . . Conflicts like the one which we have at Akwesasne is one which could be resolved by some process other than the criminal justice process. . . The U.S. made an agreement with these people which specified how these conflicts would be resolved through negotiations. It is found in Article VII of the 1794 Treaty. It also says that that's the arrangement which will be in effect until such time as Congress will make other equitable arrangements.

FG: And Congress did that in 1948.

JM: No No No! Congress in 1948 transferred criminal jurisdiction to New York. They didn't create an equitable arrangement to the provisions in the treaty.

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JM: It is true that if there was an injury to someone – for example, if someone ran over someone with a car – that kind of question could well fall under some kind of State law, as it was intended in that 1948 statute. The legislative history suggests that New York could be abusing the language of the statute by imposing it in such a way that New York will be altering the political life of the people at St. Regis.

HW: If I feel that the elective system is abusing its authority in dealing with me in any way shape or form, what are my avenues for redress.

JM: They're the courts. But if you're an Akwesasne Mohawk and you feel that the State of New York or the elected Trustees are abusing your rights, what are your alternatives? What steps can you take then to get redress?

HW: ARE YOU SAYING THAT IF ONE MEMBER OF FACTION A OR FACTION B WERE TO ASSAULT EACH OTHER, THAT BECAUSE THAT AROSE OUT OF A POLITICAL CONTEXT THAT NO ONE HAS JURISDICTION OVER THAT BECAUSE THE BASIS OF THAT IS A CONFLICT BETWEEN TWO GROUPS?

FG: LET'S TALK ABOUT A HYPOTHETICAL CASE WHERE THERE'S A CIVIL DISORDER AND THERE ARE OTHER INNOCENT PEOPLE WHO MAY STAND TO BE INJURED IN THE PROCESS. DO THEY HAVE ANY RIGHTS?

JM: ONE OF THE ANSWERS THAT I SEEM TO SEE COMING OUT OF THE INTERIOR DEPARTMENT IS THAT WHEN SOMETHING LIKE THAT HAPPENS YOU STICK YOUR HEAD IN THE SAND AND WAIT FOR THE SHOOTING TO STOP! IS THAT A GOOD IDEA?

FG: NO, I DON'T THINK . . .

HW: Since the *Martinez* case, that's a difficult question. Before *Martinez* our view was that they had redress under the due process provisions of the 1968 Civil Rights Act, but the court said "no", that wasn't true.

DB: It seems to me that the State would really like to find a way out of this. What we're searching for is some way that you can give the State a way out of this. Nobody on our side wants to see any people get hurt.

HW: It seems to me that if that's true, then it doesn't square with his idea that there are certain crimes which are justified because of the political philosophy of. . .

JM: No! I didn't say that. I said that there is a possibility that the State could use the criminal procedure laws in such a way that it effects political ends and that that was the intent of that 1948 law. The 1948 law did not intend New York State to use the criminal procedure to effect political ends inside the Indian country. But that's exactly what's happening right now, right there.

HW: So then in your view is if the opposing factions were to meet in a field and assault each other with weapons that because of the nature of that conflict it falls outside the jurisdiction of the State.

JM: No. My opinion is that the State of New York can find ways to use the criminal justice system in a way that it affects the political outcome of the internal affairs of the people there. There would have never been this conflict if it hadn't been for New York State's use of the criminal procedure laws.

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JM: . . . It must be that there is a possibility of federal recognition of the limitations of the State's power to (exercise) plenary power – to meddle in the internal affairs of the people at St. Regis.

FG: That goes back to the original creation of government in 1893.

JM: Let's not go back to 1893. . . I don't think that the Interior Department should decide that that government is the right government. I don't think it should decide it's the wrong government. I don't think (Interior) should decide at all about that government.

FG: Who do you want to decide?

JM: The Mohawk people ought to decide about that government.shouldn't they?

FG: I think someone has to look at the question of whether or not the State of New York is operating under any legal foundation at this time.

JM: I don't think the State of New York knows whether they're operating under a legal foundation.

FG: It seems to me that you've made here though, that you've asked for someone to clarify whether or not the State of New York has authority for its original action, and then secondly is for someone to take a closer look at the 1948 statute to determine whether or not the State of New York is operating beyond the authorities the Congress extended to it.

JM: ...I think your office can affect the outcome up there. I think it can affect that outcome by applying some enlightened interpretation on the 1948 statute putting forth that it was not intended to have certain effects. I think that if you did that, that the governor of the State of New York would be happy to see a resolution of this matter.

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FG: If I understand you, what you're saying is that the manner in which officials up and down the spectrum of the State are applying the 1948 statute is interfering with the political affairs of the uh. . .

JM: There is a way to interpret the 1948 statute in such a way that this whole matter gets resolved through a negotiated process as opposed to a criminal court system process. It can be done.

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FG: Let me see if I understand you. Your plea is that we try to do something to do resolve this immediate dispute in front of us, but what about your original concern about the legality of the established elected government?

JM: My point in asking about the (Solicitor's) opinions that have come down is that some positions have come down which have had a lot of effect in terms of solidifying the elective system's position that it doesn't have to worry about dealing with anybody about anything. There is no motivation right now for the Elective system to come and bargain about anything and there's no motivation for the State to bargain about anything... It's possible that the three parties (State, elective system, and traditionals) could sit down and negotiate through all these things.

FG: I'd like to see two things, and they're probably the same as your things. One, I'd like us to be able to unravel this so there's no bodily harm to either faction. People ought to be entitled to maintain their beliefs. Secondly, I'd like to ask the lawyers to take a hard look at the actions of the State in the 1800's. And, thirdly, for us to take another look at the 1948 statute and the intent of Congress in enacting that statute.

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JM: The memo that went to the Secretary of Interior is bullshit in the sense that it just doesn't do what it said it did. It didn't give the issue a good careful study to see if people's rights had been wronged.

FG: I'd like to point out that's your characterization about whether the lawyers gave it a back–of–their–hand kind of review.

JM: It is my characterization. It's my view that it was a very spuriously done documentation. If they say they've done an intensive study, I'd like to see it.

Maida: A Nicaraguan Indian Story

SECTION I

We were walking up a hill. I was carrying my son he was holding a balloon in his hand. It was a rocky hill and here and there we had to hop, get our balance, hop again. We could see a few other people on the hillside, little clusters of three or four, their backs against the ground. Below us, as you looked down the hill was a valley with the earth rising on the other side. There was much activity in the valley – small circled meetings, people cooking, carrying pails of water, children chasing each other. Around the camp there were tents, teepees, and parked trucks. On the left, at one end, as you looked down, there was a make–shift wooden stage. Different people had been going up to speak, it was a warm sunny day, there were several hundred people sitting on the grass, listening.

My son and I came to a flat, grassy spot and sat down. Suddenly the balloon flew out of his hand. He cried.

The balloon bounced, the wind carried it, then a woman sitting a few yards away reached quickly. She grabed it. Then she waved it for him, smiling. We went over.

She was in her early thirties, dressed in a colorful skirt.

"Do not cry", she said, giving my boy the balloon. She placed the string firmly in his hand. "Here."

We sat down.

There was an old man with her short and very dark. I had met him earlier. He was from Guatemala, a Mam Indian from the village of Todos Santos. He was wearing his traditional clothes.

At the speakers' stand, a young Navajo man was talking. We were in a camp in the Black Hills of Western South Dakota. This last July, during a gathering there that the Black Hills Alliance had organized. The gathering was to call attention to the total devastation which several large multi national corporations have planned for that area. The Black Hills are the sacred mountains of the Lakota Nation, and of several other Northern Plains Indian Peoples. Multi national mining interests are planning to stripmine the Black Hills for uranium and coal.

The young Navajo was speaking about his own sacred mountains down in his part of the world, what we commonly refer to as the Southwest, where uranium mining is already a fact of life.

He was describing the situation at Big Mountain in Arizona, where over 6,000 Navajos are resisting a policy of displacement, their home grounds now slated for further uranium mining.

The young woman was translating for the old man.

"He says they don't want to move from their land," the young woman, whose name was Maida was saying, in Spanish.

"Of course not," the old man repeated, shaking his head. *Claro que no.*

The old man turned to me. "It is the same in Guatemala. The same. The same." He shrugged his shoulders. "So much injustice. The world is full of injustice."

I agreed with him. I had been to Guatemala.

We got to talking.

At the speaker's different people, Indians and some who were not Indians from around the country got up to tell their story. It was one long continuous tale of struggle. Of peoples, small Nations, of communities engaged in the desperate attempt to protect their right to live a healthy life. Up on the hill, as we listened and as our conversation became deeper and more personal a second tale emerged.

It is funny how sometimes you can meet people – complete strangers – with whom you feel immediately at ease. Maybe it is in the nature of the work we do – that we begin to travel more and more, within circles of people who find often and unspoken, yet deep agreements about the world, about how human beings should treat each other – that once in awhile you get lucky, you connect, and matters of a personal nature, of pain and suffering endured can be exchanged and understood in a glance, in the ways the eyes may flash or the way a hand will spread and unfold a gesture.

This is how it happened with Maida. Her story came

Glenda Jones

SITTING IN A SMALL, BARE CELL, AT THE SECURITY JAIL, SHE REMEMBERED HER MOTHER'S WORDS. AFTER THE INITIAL TORTURES, THEY HAD LEFT HER ALONE. SHE HAD NOT TALKED. SHE HAD NOT UTTERED A SINGLE SOUND. THE BURNING PAINS OF THE CIGARETTES ON HER ARMS, ON HER BREASTS, SHE HAD CHOSEN NOT TO FEEL. ONLY THE SMELL OF HER OWN FLESH BURNING HAD AFFECTED HER, A NAUSEA. IT HAD MADE HER GAG...

out like that, on a hill rising out of a clear, sunny day. I am happy to help her tell it, though it is hard.

"I am from Nicargua," she said. "Indian from Nicaragua."

"I am from the area of Jinotepe. In our parts the oppression was very concrete.

"We had a hard life. In my own family, out of seventeen brothers, I have only four left. Only four. The others were killed, one by one, by Zomoza's national guard.

"In my area there were several Indian communities. Villajen. Tiliamba. San Marcos. I say *were* because over the years of the resistance, we suffered massacre after massacre. Now, I am ready to go back soon and really, I do not know, who I will find.

"In Guatemala it is the same," the old man cut in. "People disappear. You never hear of them again."

"It happens," Maida said. "Except in my country it is worse – whole communities disappear.

"We worked in the coffee – in the plantations. We are a country people. The closest settlement was a town of about 100 people but we, the Indians, lived outside of that. Where we lived there is no electricity and the water we hauled from the stream.

"Our problem was one of our right to work our own land. There were many abuses. We were pushed away as the land–lords pleased and if we protested, the repression was quick.

"The Patrones, the owners of the plantation – they imposed what wages they want – one dollar a day to the lucky ones. Others got nothing. We were as the peasants and they would not recognize us as Indians.

"The biggest Patrones in our area was the Portocarrera family – in–laws to Zomoza himself, his wife is a Portocarrera.

"There were also the one we called 'Prestamistas' – the lenders. Our people would go into debt – to buy food, to buy medicines. When we couldn't pay up, they took the land. If you refused, you were shot.

"The laws, the national guard – it was all on the side of the 'Prestamistas,' of the 'terratenientes.' If you happened to go to court, they would not believe the Indian or the campesino. Our word had no validity.

"Our people have large families, always 12, 14 children, and some would only receive beans – a small parcel, along with 12 tortillas. This for a whole family. It didn't go far.

"Often, the hunger would drive us to protest. There was much unrest. For a time, a newspaper call *La Prensa* took up our cause writing about us. It didn't last long. Those who spoke out were identified and they would be attacked. The police would come to our Chozas – huts – many police, and order us out. Then they would scold us for complaining. They would say that we were well–paid and had to go to work and we had no right to complain. That we were a bunch of liars.

"Then they would separate the men from the women and children, slap the people and hold guns to the men. The women were raped – in front of everyone – husbands, children.

"We were isolated, small villages – 2 to 3 miles apart – always by foot or horse.

"Often they liked most the younger girls – seven, eight years old. When the fathers resisted, they would kill them. Then the whole family. See, we were totally in their power. To kill an Indian had no consequences to them.

"I remember as a little girl – four, five years old – my mother and father would dig large holes, put us down and cover them. We called these holes 'blind wells," and covered ourselves with leaves. It was the only defense."

"In my own family we were nineteen – seventeen brothers and two sisters, my father, mother and grandmother.

"As much as we could, despite the terror, we kept to ourselves. We had our crafts, our music. Our language has not survived so well, only a mixture with Spanish, peculiar to us – a way to identify each other.

"The tradition was also in the agriculture, a certain respect more profound than of other peasants. It seemed to me that we were more gentle too. For instance, children were not allowed to play with guns. We also had dances.

"One dance ridicules the Spanish – the colony. We wear masks. One with mustache, one without. This is done every summer, in July.

"The men wear feathers and shake the snake rattles. They hurl insults at each other and against the Spaniard – how they arrived, how they destroyed our culture – in the dance this comes out.

"Of course, to the Ladinos, who are the whites, or what we call the ex–Indians, those who refuse to acknowledge their Indianess – all this is the object of scorn. For some reason they attempt to deny it.

"They are like Indians who are not Indians – men who would join their army, who sold out their own families. Often they are the worst. They pretended to be white. You could look at their faces and see an Indian. But, I tell you, they were the worst. Orejas, we called them – ears. Informers.

"They could dig us out sometimes.

"It was one of these orejas who sold out my mother. I know his name. And if he is alive now when I return – we will see about him."

Maida was silent awhile. She stared down at the valley. The old man from Guatamela was shaking his head. His wrinkly eyes looked extremely sad – sad in a sort of wistful way.

At the speaker's stand, Maridel Leseur was speaking.

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Maridel Leseur is an old lady – a writer from Minnesota who has seen seven decades of Peoples' struggle.

"I've been waiting 79 years for this," she said. She was referring to the fact of an Alliance between white people and Indian people in South Dakota. Then she spoke about other Alliances that she had seen in her long history – how they had been attacked and destroyed, warning people to hold together to be ever vigilant against all that which would work against unity.

"Like our old viejo her says," Maida said, looking down. "It is good to be with the people."

A little later, she said, "My mother was a real fighter. She was very strong. I learned so much from her and I am so proud to be mixed in her blood. All her life she was in struggle. And her parents too. My grandfather was also killed. His land was taken. My mother was only six years old then. They suffered a lot. She lived the misery, the hunger. We have that in common. At no time did I ever see her stop her work, ever think more of herself than of her people. She was several years in prison – though I don't know that she was tortured. She wouldn't have said it. When my Father was being persecuted, which is when she was pregnant with me – even then she was in it. I remember she would tell me when I was little: "You've been in this fight longer than you think – from the time you were in my womb."

"When I was eight years old there was an effort underway to organize the Indian people of our area. My mother was a strong one in this. She would say that we needed to organize to face the attacks of the land–owners. This was around 1955. The small ones like me would put up posters or paint signs on the streets. We would write things about the oppression, the disappearances of different people, or things like *"OUT ZOMOZA!"*

"I was out one day like that when the police caught up with me. They arrested me and took me to headquarters – to a police building that was already much hated by my people.

"This was my first contact with torture. I was interrogated. They wanted to know where my posters came from – but I couldn't say, since it was my mother who had given them to me. How could I tell on my own mother?

"So they grabed me and took me to jail. I was raped then – at eight years old. Other young ones too, not just myself – we were beaten, burned in our arms with cigarettes,

"It was almost six months before we were let out again.

"When our families found out how we were treated they were very angry. It was the spark they had needed.

"The people marched down to the jail and kicked out the police. You know, we had almost no guns – mostly knives and machetes. We held the jail for only 24 hours and then the army came in. They brought tanks and started shooting and about 150 of our people were killed.

"From that time on it was all struggle. We all had to fight. My own family – we fled to the mountains. We lived in camps, hunted from one place to another.

"We lived that way for many years. At times things let up a little and we could settle down. My mother was very sick by then, although she was only 35 years old. She had to be operated on. We settled in one place and while she was recuperating – one night they busted in and shot her – 4 or 5 men with machine guns. They killed her in front of us children.

"A few days later they came back, many more of them, and that time they lined up nearly 200 people from the community and killed them.

"This was where I am from – Jinotepe. They killed the families that had been organized. The "orejas" – they pointed these families out for the police.

"I should tell you, this wasn't just in my own community. This was all over Nicaragua – 1968. Anyone standing up for their rights was hunted down.

"Later, it actually got worse. By 1973, there were 3,000 families that completely disappeared.

"My people, though, the community I grew up in – it was nearly eradicated by that massacre. The ones who survived, our lands were taken. People were scared and the 'terratenientes' moved in, kicking the people out.

"At that time all my brothers were scattering. Some as far away as Honduraz and Guatemala. And none of them as organizers. No organizers in my family. All guerrilleros. Those of us in our region still had no one to turn to at that time, only the Sandinista Front, which was still small and had itself suffered many setbacks. The Sandinista organizers who were being hunted in the cities would come to hide among us in the mountains. And these people were good. They would help us – to educate the children, to provide health care, and, of course, to organize. We began to fight back once again.

"Our work was to go into the villages and organize programs, talking to the people, educating them. We tried to tell our history – the exploitation of the Indian people, the slavery of the Blacks – all of that, telling about the nature of the Zomocistas. But not only of the Zomocistas but of the way the whites generally thought of us Indians – the discrimination, the racism, all of that.

Here and there we would ambush an army patrol. Or kill a policeman – what they call guerrilla war. But we weren't strong enough to take back land and hold it.

"This was, of course, the strategy, or I should say, the hope of all the Indian communities, to hold the land. Many of the communities lost their land. Little by little they all became involved in the Sandinista Front."

SECTION 2

A church in Managua. Old Spanish city. A tall bell tower and white, heavy walls, greyish from the dust. A group of thirty young people inside, some only twelve, thirteen years old, dark, in short sleeve shirts and khaki pants. They wear red and black armbands.

"WE WORKED IN THE COFFEE – IN THE PLANTATIONS. WE ARE A COUNTRY PEOPLE. THE CLOSEST SETTLEMENT WAS A TOWN OF ABOUT 100 PEOPLE BUT WE, THE INDIANS, LIVED OUTSIDE OF THAT. WHERE WE LIVED THERE IS NO ELECTRICITY AND THE WATER WE HAULED FROM THE STREAM."

Maida moves among them. She is a little weak from lack of food. For several days, the group has been occupying the church conducting a hunger strike. They have identified the church as an obstacle to liberation, pacifying people to no purpose, ignoring the killings, the misery.

A young man comes running into the church. "They are coming," he says, out of breath. One of the older men slaps him on the shoulder, sends him to the back. Maida goes to the half–open door.

There are six of them at first, army hats on, 38 revolvers in hand. Maida sees one cross the street and go into a doorway. Immediately behind him soldiers with rifles and several policemen run past, jumping behind cars and pillars, bolting weapons.

Three more men are at the door now and a woman. Maida is sent back. Two of the men are holding pistols. The shooting starts, exploding windows fly back in shattered glass. One woman falls and the two young men fire their pistols, shots splintering the door around them. Maida hears the others, running out the back, trying to scatter. They hit the streets, while at the front, the men continue to fire. There is shooting coming from everywhere, and policemen running up the street. Maida trips, falling, and two of them are on her, kicking her. "Whore," they yell, yanking her hair, "Whore!"

SECTION 3

"In order to struggle you must be ready for the utmost hard times. You must be ready to accept responsibility for your people. Your conscience must be absolutely clear. Otherwise you cannot do it. Otherwise, in your worst hour, you won't have the strength to endure. Love of your people; hatred of your enemy. These are the two extremes you must balance inside. This is what keeps you going."

Sitting in a small, bare cell, at the security jail, she remembered her mothers' words. After the initial tortures, they had left her alone. She had not talked. She had not uttered a single sound. The burning pains of the cigarettes on her arms, on her breasts, she had chosen not to feel. Only the smell of her own flesh burning had affected her, a nausea. It had made her gag but she had not vomited. Several men had raped her – guards, officers, a cleaning man. She would die inside herself each time, reviving only afterwards; remembering only what she chose to remember; the men's faces – mental photographs – their eyes, the way of their hair, their official rank, their color and smell. She would never forget those.

Now, in her cell, she stood up. Her legs were shaky still. She sat back down. Every few minutes, she repeated the exercise. Her legs had been beaten with ruber mallets. They were black and blue from the thigh to the calves.

She thought of her mother a lot in that cell. She thought of her boyfriend. He, too, had been arrested. At the common cell in the police station, they had ignored each other. She wondered about him, wise enough not to inquire.

In her cell, she was fed once a day, watery bean soup, with an occasional cockroach floating. Her bodily functions she took care of on a small open drain that wouldn't flush. There was no bed; she slept on a gunny sack, on the floor. She spent her days pacing, working her swollen legs. She paced, and she thought.

She knew she would have a hard time. Probably, she wouldn't live. She wondered who all had been arrested,

NICARAGUA CONT'D NEXT PAGE

who had gotten away. Most of what she knew – places, people in the movement – would be useless to the police by now. She was glad for that, just in case, though inside she felt strong, strong.

In the Sandinista Front, she had learned a lot more about the nature and causes of the oppression. The results of the oppression, the extension of it, no one would ever teach her about. That she had experienced since childhood – her mother had been killed before her, and she remembered her grandmother at age 70, brought home from a police interrogation which had left her blinded, her eyes burned by a high–intensity lamp. "They dried my tears, Maida," her grandmother had said. "They dried my tears."

But the causes. She thought about that now, what she had learned inside the Front. It was there she had learned about the imperialism – the way the United States controlled the Nicaraguan economy, the way they trained the Nicaraguan Army, the reasons why they continually propped up the Zomoza Regime. Her boyfriend had shown her that; he had studied it. Together they had looked into it – the banking interest, the pattern of land–holdings, the mining. They had even spent time analyzing the U.S. produced television programs, commenting on the roles and messages presented, the way it could confuse and shape the people's minds. It all gave her added strength now.

During her first torture session, she had seen them for the first time. One was blonde and the other dark – but both distinctly North–American. They had looked like the actors in the television sets.

At first, the two Americans had only watched, and she had noticed that the Nicaraguans had become nervous. Her silence and lack of response irritated them. They slapped her viciously. Then, when they had suggested pulling her toe–nails by producing the plying instruments, one American shook his head, asking instead that the ruber club be brought to him. He pulled off his coat, walked over to her and then slowly and precisely he beat her legs, the inside of the thighs, at her calves. When he had worked up a sweat, he had called for one of the guards to continue.

SECTION 4

One day she was moved to the women's common cell. It was in a long wing. A corridor separated the men's cells from the women's. Through a window made of grilled iron bars she could look out into the courtyard.

"Day after day we watched through that window," she would recall later. "We saw our brothers, our boyfriends, taken out. It was at that time that I realized the training nature of the North–Americans' work.

"They used two different methods – the electricity, and the nailed planks. The planks they made the men walk on. It was about 30 feet long, with long, rusty nails sticking up. Usually that came first. The men were to walk it barefoot, prodded by bayonets. Silently, we would cry for them. At the end of the plank, they had the electricity set up. The men were made to sit on a chair. I remember the North–Americans would take the prisoner and show the guards how to install the electric hood on him, on the head, or the ears, the tongue or the testicles. I remember there were five North–Americans in all. They would show the guards how to run the generator, how much electricity to apply – all that kind of thing. This went on, day after day.

"On that wing, too, at night, the guards would set up a table and play poker games. They would each pick a few women and play us, for us, instead of money. Whoever won you would have you for that night, to rape you or beat you as they wished. Sometimes, they would make us drink alcohol so they could laugh."

One day, the North–Americans came to the wing and singled her out. She was taken to the torture room.

"That was the day they took out my toenails – well, all my nails, in my hands too. It was a class, a training session. It had nothing to do with me. There was no objective in terms of information – nothing like that. There were the five North–Americans and eight Nicaraguan guards, new ones. One by one, they pulled all my nails.

"The North–Americans did it at first. One would work the plyers while another whispered in my ear. He would say, in Spanish: 'You stupid Indian girl – you must respect your government. Your government is good to you.'

"They did this over and over and over. It was the only words I ever heard them say in Spanish.

For a time, the North–Americans singled her out, trying to break her hold over herself. "They didn't understand that there was nothing left for them to break. I expected nothing.

"The worst came with my boyfriend, and with another Indian brother they had mistaken for my boyfriend.

"An informer bought his liberty with that bit of information. He told them one was my boyfriend – though he didn't know which of the two.

"They tortured and killed them in front of me, one first and then the other. They did everything to them. The one brother they beat so badly he vomited part of his lung. He choked to death. My boyfriend they raped and castrated, then cut his throat. I cried for him but, like my grandmother, I had no tears. No tears that they could see.

"There was one thing. You see, I had made up my mind to die. In this I was lucky. I had seen enough in my life to know what to expect. Some of our companions who had come into it for adventure, for heroism, for romantic feelings – they did not do so well. None of them made it.

"This was a luxury I gave myself. At the same time I was suffering, I gave myself this luxury – not to lower myself, to keep myself strong. Because these men that would do that – they were really very small men. If you kept yourself strong, if you could withstand the pain – you could see them shrink from you; you could see them frustrate themselves; you could see them sometimes even be ashamed in their own cowardice. And when you are being tortured like that – this is the only victory, the only pleasure you have available. This actually hurts them. You could get on top of them – make them feel small compared to you."

SECTION 5

It was late in the afternoon by then. At the speakers' stand a young Indian man was singing. He had dedicated his song to all Indian political prisoners. He sang the "Ballad of Leonard Peltier."

We were all silent for a long time. Then my son's balloon flew out of his hand again. This time it hit a sharp rock, exploding.

He cried. The old Guatemalan held him. "Don't cry, my boy," he said. "That is the way life is." Then he pointed with his hand for him. "But look, look – look at all the people. Look how happy today. This one does this and this one does that."

Maida nodded, smiling. "He is so right," she said to me. "I've been talking with him all day. He reminds me of my grandmother. She used to talk that way."

Later that evening sitting around a fire, we talked again. We spoke this time about the continental movement of Indigenous peoples, about prophesies, about the distinct nature of the emerging indigenous analysis.

After eight months in prison Maida had, one day, been transported to the airport and exiled to the United States. A branch of her family that had connections in the Zomoza government had been ashamed to have her in prison, she said, and had been successful in having her exiled.

"I didn't even know where I was going. Only when the plane landed did I know where I was.

"You may not believe it but this was the very terrible time for me. It was a thing of knowing that suddenly I was in the very country where the imperialism comes out of, the country, the government which is so responsible for our misery, for the deaths of my people there. This was something very painful for me, very shameful.

"This was in 1970. When I went to the Immigration authorities here, I was told that if I wanted papers that I must not participate in any political activities, something which, of course, is impossible for me – because this is something I carry in my blood."

For a time, she was politically isolated, but then, slowly, she started making contacts with leftist organizations here. It was a way to continue to work, she says, but she resented the way some of them attempted to make her fit into their programs.

"My father had warned me about that," she said. "He said they would try to use me, to make a symbol out of me, that they would try to deny the fact of our Indian identity.

"He was right. And I have had some of those kinds of fights.

"I wasn't willing to change history for their petty political analysis – I lived that history. They learned it from books.

"They don't respect our culture – as oppressed as it has been. They don't respect our spiritual beliefs – to them, everything is material, for instance. Things which to us are incomprehensible.

NICARAGUA CONT'D NEXT PAGE

NICARAGUA CONTINUED

"They don't understand us; we don't understand them too well either. We don't really know what it is they want. Of course, one thing the Anti–Zomoza fight has taught us is that we must find ways of working together. The enemy is just too strong otherwise. Overall, I would say, our biggest complaint is the paternalism – the position that within materialism is to be found the correct philosophies of liberation. This we know in the long run will not work. What we want is people who are willing to teach us – because there is much which we need to learn. But we also want that these people – the intellectual leftists will learn from us.

"The paternalism – we see this as a companion to the guilt many of them suffer as a result of their class background, as a result of the history of their race. We don't feel there is much room for this, not anymore.

"We want our lands back; we want a future for our children and then to enjoy the fruits of our labor, to live in a peaceful community of people. It is really quite simple. This we used to know.

"Many of them, for instance want to bring us education programs. But these education programs must be based on our culture. Alright, we accept the need for education, but it must be based on our values.

"I feel tremendous to have seen the Indian brothers and sisters in North America – that they are still strong in the spiritual traditions, in their ceremonies. And the times I have been invited to attend a ceremony, I have felt very good.

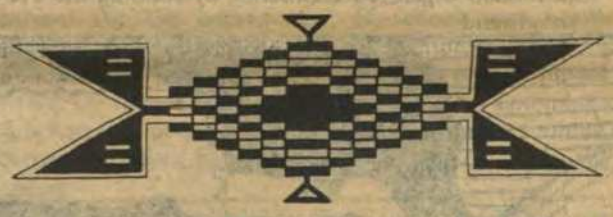
"This is the way my own family was working. We were organized by family structure, by community structures. We were not looking for a vast national political party – a national movement – yes, definitely – but not a national super–structure. This is our indigenous way. This is how we differ. Many of them, in my country, in order to negate this would call us Mestizos. Well fine, I may also be a mestiza. But in my rebel heart, I am Indian. And in my veins is only the Indian blood of my ancestors, of my mother and father – who were Indians, who struggled and died as Indians. The Spanish blood in my veins stopped flowing a long time ago.

"For that reason, I say that our struggle as Indian People, even in Nicaragua, has only begun. Ours is the most elemental fight. And even Marxist–Leninism, for all its contribution in the liberation struggles, is one more way of the white man's not to listen to us. In that way it has its negative side, in that it allows for a way of analyzing the world which pretends to encompass all factors. And we, the Indians, the indigenous peoples, are the one factor which is inexplicable within Marxism–Leninism. Unless, of course, they are able to make us fit into their description. But this they can only do if they do not listen to us. Because, if they stop to listen, then they must realize that we won't fit so well, that we have elements in our ways which they don't consider any longer, but which are ours, which we cannot give up. This is my fight now as I return to my country. The tyrant has been defeated, the unimaginable repression has been defeated – but the struggle of the indigenous communities must now truly develop. The way we see it is that this recent victory is only one step – and an opportunity now for us to go forward. This is the reason I am now going. First, because the Sandinista Front has promised us our lands back. This I want to see done. This must be a promise fulfilled. And not only in

Somoza, Roosevelt and Eisenhower

my community, but in all the Indian communities.

"I don't mean to sound negative about the people in the Sandinista Front, about anyone who struggled in Nicaragua. It is only that the Indian experience within the left political parties – well within any of the established parties – has been that any of our leadership who worked within them, that they were inevitably limited, that they were maneuvered so as to become ineffective for their home communities. This is something. This has been our history. This victory – the expulsion of Zomoza – is only a partial victory because within the directory even now there is to be found some of the biggest industrialists, some of the politicos who were very sweet on Zomoza while he was in strength. What they call the "bourgeousie" – it still has a strong hold on the direction of the Nicaraguan economy. And this direction – more economically, but also politically – could continue to be detrimental to our Indian communities."



SECTION 6

I talked to Maida only once more, several months later. This time it was over the phone and we were able to record some of our conversation. She was about to go back to Nicaragua and would have been most happy, she said, except that very morning she had received word that one more of her brothers had been killed.

"He died in one of the final battles," she said. "That leaves only three of them."

We talked awhile and then I told her that we would attempt to tell her story.

"It is only my story," she told me, her voice full again. "There are so many others. But maybe through just this, people will understand better why we fought so hard. hard.

"The Indian communities all fought – and hard. Some, like the Mesquito were always even more separate – their areas more isolated and hostile. But others, in the city, later were among the first to take their community back from the Dictatorship –Masaya City, Feb. 10–17, 1978.

"It was there, too, where one of the most used guerrilla weapons was invented – by Indians – a bomb made from commonly used detergent. Within the month all the liberation forces in the country were using it.

"Today, I am saddened by my brothers' fate. But it is just one more contribution we have made. We have contributed our share in war – as Indians – my only hope now is that in the peace our true human contribution will be fully understood."

––ISMAELILLO

PARAGUAY CONTINUED FROM PAGE 6

the only stable anti-Communist government in South America. It follows that he is a Communist. There's only one thing that ought to be done with him."

One doesn't feel very comfortable under such circumstances! Even though one has the pledge of the U.S. Ambassador that "nothing will happen to you." Well, I was sure that nothing would happen to me when the plane took off, but not until then.

The horrible thing was that when the Human Rights Division of the U.S. State Department submitted its report for last year to Congress on the eligibility of various countries to receive American economic and military aid, it wrote up its support of Paraguay in such a way as to recommend Paraguay for continued aid. It was a very cleverly written report, providing truths, half-truths, and falsehoods. It said, A – Paraguay was a country which had been suffering from human rights violations since time immemorial; B – great progress has been done; and C – extermination of Indians was simply non-existent and the government had gone out of its way to improve the lot of the Indians and Professor Arens' two-week stay in Paraguay was totally untrustworthy. They then quoted a Professor Robert C. Smith of the University of Kansas (they haven't quoted him since.)

They said that Professor Robert C. Smith does not agree with Professor Arens, he supports the State Department to the hilt. So I picked up the telephone and called Professor Robert Smith and said, "Do you mind telling me what went into your report?" And he said, "Yes, I'm in substantial agreement with you. What I put in my report was – and I covered only one Indian tribe, the Aches – was that the manhunt against the Aches appeared to have stopped because they have killed almost all of the Aches in that area and there is no one to hunt! So from that point of view, there's an improvement!"

Incompetence or mendacity? On this particular occasion Professor Robert C. Smith, like myself, has become an unmentionable person in the human rights reports of the State Department.

The prohibition against genocide (in international agreements) is directed at the attempt to dissolve the group. Indirectly it also protects the individual. But it is designed to protect the integrity of the group in all its aspects, including its culture. One of the ... things I saw in Paraguay upon Indian reservations was Indians dying literally of disease and despair. They were denied the right to speak their language, the right to sing their songs, the right to practice their religious rites. On top of that, they were denied adequate medical attention for tuberculosis and the other "white man's" diseases they had acquired in these terribly unhealthy centers.

The fact of the matter is that by that time they had lost all interest in life. Well-intentioned doctors who saw them said that they probably could not have been helped even if maximum medical attention had been made available unless they could have been assured of

their right to return to their concept of "Indianness." The destruction of their Indianness had brought about the loss of their desire to live.

And I say that what was done, without firing a single shot, was as much an act of genocide as the usual mass execution with which genocide is associated.

I first heard about [the killings] in 1963. As of 1963, the very first letter that was received – and I included it in the book – from the Assistant Secretary of State [stated], "Mr. Arens' claims are exagerated. There have been some unfortunate killings by drunken ranch hands in outlying areas of Paraguay which cannot be adequately controlled by the government." And they've been giving us this litany ever since.

Columbian Indians Fight Torture, Terror

by Joshua W. Hoyt

Popayan, Tierradentro, Colombia

April 5, 1979

A Paez Indian woman stoops over her cook fire in her mud house and says, "The Indians have always fought alone. We fight for our land, our language, our customs. Now the government wants to destroy us. And if we survive, we'll know we did it alone."

The woman speaking with so much pride is a member of the Indian defence organization CRIC (Regional Council of the Cauca Indians). Her husband is on the executive committee of CRIC. He and 30 other Indian leaders have been hiding in the mountains from government troops for more than a month. Six other Indian leaders and four white sympathizers have been in prison since mid–February. They are suspected, according to the government, of belonging to the recently discovered urban guerilla group named M–19.

According to an *Amnesty International* report on the situation they have all been subjected to numerous tortures. The tortures include electric shocks, beatings, starvation, near–drowning in mud, and lighted matches applied to their testicles. The entire Cauca province is now under an official military state of siege. What is the cause of such heavy repression?This reporter spent a week travelling through the region, interviewing the Indians, anthropologists, churchmen, lawyers, and police officers. His report follows:

Conditions in the Cauca

The Cauca region is one of the most important Indian centers in all of Colombia. The province contains 58% of all of the Indian reservations officially recognized by the Colombian government. It is also one of the poorest regions in all of Colombia.

In the Indian population, only 10% of the population lives in towns. The rest are scattered throughout the mountains, isolated. They live in mud huts and are connected to the outside world only by treacherous horse paths. It is not uncommon for the few dirt roads to be a week's walk from each other.

Elias Sevilla Casas, a Colombian anthropologist, estimates the infant mortality rate to be 20% and says that the literacy rate may be as low as 8% in some areas. (The Indians blame this on an education which has historically been "culturally and linguistically white".) The diet consists mainly of rice, potatoes, yucca roots and an occasional egg. Food is scarce and the land displacement makes for poor health standards. Indians are plagued by endemic tuberculosis, parasitism, and malnutrition.

Despite the poverty and isolation – or more probably because of it – the Indians of the Cauca, and especially the Paez, have been famous for their long history of resistance to outside "invaders". Around the cookfires they still tell their children about their legendary warrior protector, Juan Tama, son of the rivers. Using the power of the thunder he slew thousands of invading Pijao Indians (Indians contracted to fight for the Spanish Conquistadors) in one terrible battle. Indeed, so fiercely did the Paez resist the Conquista that the Spaniards termed them Indian of "mala paz", ill–peace, and were forced to withdraw their one settlement from within the reservation.

Throughout history they have remained marginalized in Colombia, and on occasion they have rebelled violently. A man who works in the area and who asked not to be identified explained the recent conflicts in this way, "There has been a more or less constant conflict over land ownership between the Indians and the large landholders since the time of the Spaniards. But the struggles have sharpened lately due to three factors.

"Since the undeclared civil war called the 'Violence' of the 1950s the Whites have been taking advantage of new roads and markets, consolidating their control over their large landholdings and also absorbing Indian lands. When the Indians organized themselves by forming the CRIC, of course the situation became graver. The third factor is the growing population pressures and unequal landholdings in large parts of the Cauca region, which make conflict almost inevitable."

Sevilla Casas points out that in the Indian stronghold of Tierradentro alone, the Indians have lost 25% of their lands since 1945. He adds, "From the Indian point of view, the most pitiful situation is that of the reservations which suffer population pressures because part of their lands have been seized by white landlords. Paradoxically, these landlords do not take advantage of the lands, but simply 'have' them."

The Organization CRIC

Since its foundation in 1971 the CRIC has had strong support among the Paez, the Coconuco, and the Guanaca Indians, and a lesser support among the Guambianos of the region. "The purpose of the CRIC", says one of its spokesmen, "has been to recover lands, protect our languages and customs, strengthen the Indian reservations, and fight for the rights of the poor."

The group has fought openly for these ends, principally using court battles and non–violent "land–recuperations" (moving onto and planting of unused lands) as its tactics. They have also engaged in literacy programs for their members and have established a series of co–operative stores in the Indian communities. "Given the charges against our leaders", says the spokesman, "it is important to point out that we always worked in the open, we never have advocated violence, and we have always been independent of all political parties." A Catholic priest in the area confirms, "Any violence in this area has been directed at the CRIC, not by it."

'Of course, they're being tortured...'

In the 8 years since its foundation the CRIC has seen more than 45 of its leaders assassinated, according to group spokesmen. Groups of armed thugs (pajaros) roam the mountains at night. "We know they are paid by the landlords", says the spokesman. "We know they have a death list. But the government has never prosecuted a single case for the murder of an Indian." The latest victim was Benjamin Dindicue, a member of the executive committee of the CRIC, who was murdered in his home by 15 pajaros on Feb. 4 of this year.

The most recent group of arrests of Indian leaders began with the robery of a large number of arms by the urban guerilla group M–19 on Jan. 1 of this year. This gave the newly elected liberal government of President Turbay Ayala a perfect opportunity to use its recently approved "Statute of Security", a statute which passes all crimes "against the integrity and security of the State" to the military tribunals. A roundup of more than 200 leftists, union leaders, Indian leaders, and other progressives was begun and still continues. There have been widespread accusations of torture by churchmen, lawyers, and international human rights organizations. All of the arrested are accused of being members of the M–19. Under military "justice" they face up to 14 years in jail.

"It's a witchhunt", says CRIC lawyer Alvaro Velasco Alvarez. "But it isn't repression just to destroy the CRIC or stop the popular movement, but rather to begin a new model of development. The famous 'peace' of Pinochet." Although the government continues to deny its use of torture, Velasco Alvarez says, "I, as a lawyer, swear that my clients, the Indians, have been tortured." His observation is confirmed by a member of the Carabineros (military police) stationed in Tierradentro. The officer remarked to this reporter, "Of course, they are torturing them. They wouldn't talk if they didn't torture them."

While the resolution of the events in the Cauca and in all of Colombia remains unclear, what does appear clear is that the government has not succeeded in its efforts to destroy or intimidate the CRIC. Says the Paez woman in her hut, "The government doesn't understand, but we

COLOMBIAN INDIANS CONTINUED NEXT PAGE

COLOMBIAN INDIANS CONTINUED

are not just an organization or an office or an executive committee. We are a movement."

She then explains, "Juan Tama did not die after fighting the Spaniards. When he saw that the Paeces were free he left, leaving his titles and his possessions, and he disappeared into the Lagoon of Juan Tama. For years he has been resting and some even forgot him. But we are going to ask his help, and as long as there is a single Indian there will be a CRIC."

IT IS IMPORTANT TO THE INDIANS OF THE CRIC TO OBTAIN INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT FOR THEIR POLITICAL PRISONERS, AND TO DRAW ATTENTION TO THE WIDESPREAD VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS OCCURING RIGHT NOW IN COLOMBIA. THEY ASK THAT YOU SEND LETTERS AND TELEGRAMS, WITH COPIES TO CRIC, TO THE FOLLOWING PERSONS. PLEASE REQUEST AN END TO THE TORTURES, AN END TO THE DETENTIONS, AND A REPEAL OF THE "STATUTE OF SECURITY".

SR. JULIO CESAR TURBAY AYALA
PRESIDENTE DE LA REPUBLICA
BOGOTA, D.E., COLOMBIA

BRIG. GEN. LUIS CARLOS CAMACHO LEYVA
MINISTRO DE DEFENSA
BOGOTA, D.E., COLOMBIA

SR. GERMAN ZEA HERNANDEZ
MINISTRO DE GOBIERNO
BOGOTA, D.E., COLOMBIA

SR. GILBERTO CRUZ VILLEGAS
GOBERNADOR DE CAUCA
POPAYAN, CAUCA, COLOMBIA

MON. GERMAN GARCIA 1.
PREFECTURA APOSTOLICA DE TIERRADENTRO
BELACAZAR, CAUCA, COLOMBIA

AND THE COLOMBIAN AMBASSADOR TO YOUR COUNTRY.

THE CRIC ADDRESS IS:
APARTADO AEREO 516
POPAYAN, CAUCA, COLOMBIA

And Uranium Mining...

INSTANT UNDERDEVELOPMENT FOR INDIGENOUS TRIBES

Current government and private initiatives in the Colombian Amazon may prove as devastating for the region's 70,000 indigenous people as the ruber boom at the beginning of the century. In March 1978, the Colombian Institute of Nuclear Affairs (IAN) and the National Uranium Company of Spain (ENUSA) signed a $500 million contract for the exploration and development of uranium reserves in the southeastern territories of Vaupes and Guainia. Four months later, the Colombian government signed the Amazon Pact, an eight–nation multilateral accord calling for the coordinated development and economic integration of the Amazon basin. Then, in August 1978, members of the Colombian confederation of chambers of commerce – voicing a plea of newly elected Colombian President Julio Cesar Turbay – released a statement in Leticia condemning the neglect of the Amazon and calling for government action to develop the frontier zone.

Precedents exist for the recent surge of development interest in the Colombian Amazon. Although the region comprises more than 30 percent of the country's area, it contains only 4 percent of the nation's population. In the early 1960s, a Texaco–Gulf consortium began operating a 1,300,000 – hectare oil concession in the Putumayo area. By 1968, Texaco–Gulf had forty–seven productive wells in operation and had completed a 193–mile pipeline from Orito, across the Andes, to the Pacific coast town of Tumaco. By the early 1970s, Colombia's Putumayo oil fields were producing nearly 100,000 barrels of petroleum per day.

In the early 1970s, the World Bank also provided the Colombian government with the first of two loans to finance a major agricultural project in the Caqueta region. This project was to serve as a model for other colonization programs in developing countries. An initial World Bank loan helped to finance a $21.6 million project for the construction of schools and health centers, and for research in rice cultivation and livestock raising. The World Bank has also made a socioeconomic study of the colonization process in the Colombian Amazon that covers such topics as population, farming, commerce, work habits, and future prospects for the region.

Although Colombia's jungle road network has not reached the proportions of the Brazilian and Peruvian systems, highway and colonization fronts have slowly but steadily encroached on the territories of indigenous groups. The construction of the Pasto–Puerto Asis Highway in 1957 speeded up the colonization fronts into the territories of the Inga, Kofan, and Siona tribes and facilitated the exploration of the Orito oil fields in the Upper Putumayo. To the east, the planned extension of the highway between Villa–vicencio and Calamar could also intensify the colonization fronts that are now moving in the direction of the more isolated Guayabero, Tukano, Cubeo, Piapoco, and Tuparro tribes.

Many official documents coming out of Colombia that describe these projects make invidious comparisons to Brazil's energetic plans for a network of Amazon roads. In the Vaupes, for example, to road system presently ends at San Jose de Guaviare – a *llanos* (plains) town on the Vaupes River – and transportation east of this point is difficult by river and expensive by air. The

development literature discusses this situation critically, for the lack of roads is seen as a disgrace and as a hindrance to national colonization. But roads can also bring a region and its inhabitants into contact with undesirable outsiders and promote the dangerous spread of diseases. Certainly, the examples of road construction in Brazil, which has been linked to the spread of African river blindness, and the Panamerican Highway in the Choco, where hoof–and–mouth disease is now rampant, have something to teach us about the effects of highways on native peoples.

Roads do facilitate the movement of people into a region and create jobs, but in many cases such migration ultimately results in what might be characterized as *instant underdevelopment*: extreme poverty following the disappearance of jobs and services after roads are constructed, oil wells built, and resources depleted. This process has been documented in all of the Amazon Pact countries, and it is one of many illustrations of the connection between the plight of indigenous peoples and the more general problems or rural poverty and unemployment created by internal colonization.

Unfortunately, in the Colombian Amazon there are no native organizations on the order of the Shuar Federation of Ecuador or the Regional Indian Council of the Cauca Valley (CRIC) to make their opinions on these matters known. As in most of Amazonia, the conditions are unfavorable for local–level political organizing. This is particularly so in the Vaupes region, where population density is extremely low – less than 1.2 persons per kilometer – and where the dispersed settlement pattern and large number of languages spoken make the organizing of a regional native federation an arduous task.

Anthropologist have special responsibilities in a situation such as that of the Colombian Amazon. Treaties like the Amazon Pact and the recent contract between Colombia and Spain for the exploration of uranium in the Vaupes and Guainia territories raise vital issues about the effects of development on native peoples. Most of these agreements aim at creating what is euphemistically termed "economic, scientific, and social progress," but they show no awareness of the indigenous peoples who have inhabited these territories for hundreds of years and who, for the most part, have utilized their resources efficiently and without irreversible damage.

by Jean E. Jackson, published in ARC/december 1978)

The Radiation Syndrome

Thirty years from now, virtually all the uranium in the world – known deposits and those yet to be found – will be exhausted. Although the age of atomic–generated nuclear power will be over (or nearly over), the age of the Atom will have barely begun by the year 2010. The Atomic Age will leave a legacy on the earth, a legacy which will last for hundreds of thousands – nay millions – of years in the form of nuclear waste products which will be left over from the atomic power generating days. It is estimated that by the year 2000, the accumulation of such wastes from these plants could reach 25,000 metric tons, 40 to 60 million gallons of which will be in liquid form. The nuclear waste generated by each American family's consumption of nuclear–powered electricity would be enough to contaminate a billion gallons of water beyond the NRC's present maximum allowable concentrations in drinking water. The question which faces our species on this planet is not whether nuclear reactors can be made safe against meltdown, the question is whether the planet can be made safe for living things.

Everything about the handling of radioactive materials is dangerous. The media has focused on three areas of the "Nuclear Fuel Cycle", the mining and milling process, the questions of safe nuclear plant operation, and the problems surrounding disposal of the waste products. There are some facts that everyone in the world needs to know about each of these processes. They are hard facts.

URANIUM MILL TAILINGS ARE DEADLY

For thirty years, multinational corporations have been at work in the Southwest, extracting uranium ore for the production of nuclear weapons and as fuel for nuclear power generating plants. The use of uranium for both of these purposes has been controversial from the start, but recent events at Three Mile Island near Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, have done much to educate the American public to at least some of the dangers posed by the existence of nuclear power generating plants in many populated areas of the country. Much less public attention has been focused on the mining and milling process associated with uranium – the well–head, so to speak, of the U.S. nuclear military/energy program.

Much of the uranium mining and milling process takes place on Indian lands, far from the sight and therefore the minds of most Americans. A growing body of evidence makes it clear that the mining of uranium constitutes a danger to the health and well–being of everyone in North America, and is a special threat to the health, culture, and continued existence of the Native peoples on whose lands the mining and milling is taken place. The process of commercial mining and milling of uranium began in the Navajo country at a time when the dangers with radioactive materials were dimly understood by all but a few highly specialized scientists.

KerrMcGee, a multinational company, began mining uranium in Red Rock Valley in northeastern Arizona in 1949. The Navajo people who began working the mines were ignorant of the dangers to which they were exposed. The dangers associated with uranium mining and milling have turned out to be considerable, indeed. The radioactive materials which are brought forth from the earth emit high–speed particles smaller than the atom. Scientists believe that those particles collide with molecules in living cells, damaging those molecules and creating conditions which lead to the growth of cancer. There is, in fact, massive evidence that exposure to radiation leads to various forms of cancer. Such exposure makes uranium mining a high–risk occupation.

The dangers posed by uranium and other radioactive materials are unlike those that human senses were created to deal with. Radioactive materials can be odorless and tasteless, invisible and undetectable to the touch. The damage done by constant exposure to low–level radiation may not appear in the individual for twenty years. But the danger is nevertheless very real, and it is one which cannot be simply passed off as theoretical and unsubstantiated. It is estimated that 70% of the Navajo miners who worked at the Red Rock uranium mines will eventually die of lung cancer and other related respiratory diseases.

"The risks of uranium mining are so great that scientists recommend that mining be done by remote control machines. Indian uranium miners are essentially acting as guinea pigs in the nuclear industry's and the Federal government's test of the hazards of uranium exploitation." (*"The Hour is Late; Native Americans and Energy Resource Development", by David Weiss, unpublished ms., U.C. at Santa Cruz, 1979, p.120*)

THERE IS NOT NOW, AND THERE WILL NEVER BE, TECHNOLOGY WHICH CAN PREVENT THESE LOSSES OF RADIOACTIVE MATERIALS. A TECHNOLOGY FOR THAT CAN'T BE DEVELOPED BECAUSE THERE ARE TOO MANY VARIABLES – TOO MANY TONS OF TAILINGS, TOO MANY "HUMAN ERROR" POSSIBILITIES, TOO MANY POSSIBILITIES OF ACCIDENT. TRYING TO SHUT OFF THE ESCAPE OR LOSS OF RADIOACTIVE MATERIALS IS THE TECHNOLOGICAL EQUIVALENT OF TRYING TO STAMP OUT THE COMMON COLD. IT CAN'T BE DONE BECAUSE IT'S NOT ONE PROBLEM BUT HUNDREDS OF PROBLEMS AND SCIENTISTS HAVEN'T BEGUN TO IDENTIFY MOST OF THOSE PROBLEMS EVEN AFTER ALMOST FORTY YEARS OF WORKING WITH THESE SUBSTANCES.

The Navajo uranium miners are among the first victims of the Nuclear Fuel Cycle. Those who are mining the ore are the first to be exposed to the radiation, and they are the people who are most likely to breathe the radioactive radon gas which is trapped in the lungs and which is believed to be a major source of lung cancer among miners. Presently there is no substance known which can absorb an appreciable quantity of radon. Approximately 1% of the gas is presently absorbed, which means that there is no filter which uranium miners can wear which will protect them from the gas.

The problem associated with mining and milling of uranium ore, however, are not restricted to the effects on the miners. Once uranium ore is brought to the surface, it is crushed in a milling plant. The vast leftover from this process is called 'tailings'. The process of uranium milling is only 15% efficient, which is to say that only 15% of the radioactive material is extracted from the ore. The rest of the radioactive material – the other 85% – is discarded and eventually becomes a pile of radioactive dust.

"Coming out of an uranium mill, the waste is a heavy liquid laden with solids. It is channeled to a company tailings pond, where water and chemicals used in the milling evaporate and separate from the milled ore. The dry mill tailings are then left to sit by the pond or are transported to a mill dumping ground where the dry radioactive sand stands piled or blows for miles over the uranium belt when the wind whips through." (*"New Mexico Faces Threat from 52 Million Tons of Radioactive Wastes", by Tom Barry, LNS, June 30, 1978, p.5*)

It is difficult to overestimate the hazards created by that blowing radioactive dust. Nothing like it has ever existed in the history of the world, but there is growing consensus that, at the very least, uranium mining and the resultant tailings promise to have a devastating impact on the Native people, especially in the Southwest.

"In New Mexico in the Grants Mineral Belt where water 'had to be pumped out of the uranium mines to prevent flooding', the EPA (Environmental Protection Agency) surveyed six drinking water supplies and found all six excessively contaminated with alpha radiation and radioactive uranium. All radiation levels were 200 times those allowed by drinking water standards proposed by EPA; radium levels were eight times the allowed levels." (*HEALTH DANGERS OF THE NUCLEAR FUEL CHAIN AND LOW–LEVEL IONIZING RADIATION, by Robert F. Woollard, MD and Eric R. Young, MD, British Columbia Medical Association Health Planning Council Environmental Health Committee, p.16, excerpted from THE MENACE OF ATOMIC ENERGY, by R. Nader and J. Abbotts, W.W. Norton & Co. Inc., N.Y., N.Y., 1977*)

The Native people of the Southwest have good reason to resist the mining and milling of uranium in their homeland. The mining and milling process poses a threat to their existence which is unprecedented and which is almost unimaginable.

"There are three uranium mills – operated by Anaconda, United Nuclear Corporation, and KerrMcGee – and over 50 uranium mines in the Grants (n.M.) vicinity. The local economy is entirely dependent on the nuclear industry for survival. It is a tragic irony that huge numbers of Indians have become so dependent on the jobs of the industry that is slowly killing them. The multinational energy corporations will move on to new resource supplies after the mines are depleted, making the area resemble the impoverished communities of Appalachia, their lands stripped of the precious natural resources. But the damage done by the uranium companies in the Southwest is even more far–reaching than the impacts of coal strip–mining in the hills of Appalachia or at Black Mesa. The mine and milling operations at the Grants Mineral Belt have exposed mine workers to lethal forms of radiation, and radiation leakage from the piles of abandoned mill tailings is seeping into the local ecosystem which the Indians and residents of surrounding communities depend on for their survival." (*Weiss, ibid., p.120–121*)

A NATIONAL SACRIFICE AREA

Native and non–Native people have become aware that the uranium mining industry poses a clear and present danger to the people of the entire region. The nature and the enormity of that danger has been becoming more widely known over the last decade.

"The local (New Mexico) resistance gained momentum early in the 1970s when a National Academy of Science's report warned that energy demand could turn the desert Southwest, which includes the Navajos' homeland, into a 'national sacrifice area'. Activists are fighting increases in the strip–mining of coal and proposals for coal gasification plants, as well as uranium mining, a combination which, according to Navajo activist John Redhouse, makes the energy colonization of his homeland 'an issue of spiritual and physical genocide'." (*THE SUNDAY SUN, Baltimore Md., May 13, 1979, "The Great Uranium Rush", by Bruce Johansen, p. K3*)

Uranium mining and milling threatens to destroy the entire Southwest region because the radioactive waste products are known to migrate from the mining and milling sites throughout the Southwest. More and more people are beginning to realize that everyone has a stake in what is happening in the Southwest.

A group called Citizens Against Nuclear Threats has joined the Coalition for Navajo Liberation in the

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attempt to stop uranium mining. They (CANT) have released data which indicates that radium–bearing sediments have spread into the Colorado River Basin, the artery which supplies water to much of the arid Southwest.

The conclusion from all the available information is that uranium tailings are deadly.

"...calculations by Robert Pohl of Cornell University...conclude that radiation from the element Thorium–230 in uranium tailings could produce many millions of deaths if measures aren't taken to stabilize the wastes. Pohl's study was based on the predicted expansion of the nuclear industry which will by the year 2000 produce about 20 billion tons of tailings – enough to cover Rhode Island to a depth of seven inches. Thorium–230 has a half–life of 80,000 years, meaning that it will remain dangerously radioactive for several thousand years. Pohl projects that over the next 30 year period more than a thousand people a year will die from thorium–induced cancers." (*Barry, p.5*)

There are already huge and growing piles of uranium tailings in New Mexico.

"The nuclear industry, besides giving jobs to workers which slowly kill them and the surrounding population, has left an estimated 60 million tons of untreated uranium mill tailings on Indian and non–Indian lands in the State of New Mexico. The accumulated treasures include 71 acres at Shiprock (Kerr McGee), 91 acres at Ambrosia Lake (United Nuclear), 48 acres at Milan (United Nuclear), and 75 acres at Bluewater (Anaconda)." (*unpublished ms. by Winona LaDuke*)

New Mexico isn't alone, and Native people are not the only people who are exposed to uranium tailings. Coronado came to the Southwest in the 16th century seeking cities with streets paved with gold. If he came back today, he could find some cities in the West which have streets paved with uranium. On April 1, 1979, the CHICAGO TRIBUNE reported:

"More than 125 million tons of radioactive dirt was left in 21 areas of the West, virtually unnoticed and sometimes unguarded by the AEC (Atomic Energy Commission) which technically was in charge of most of the 'hot' sandpiles until 1976. The dirt, 'tailings' from uranium and radium mines, gives off radon gas, which some scientists believe can cause cancer or leukemia... Because debris from these operations has been sitting there for decades, the silt containing leftover uranium slowly became a part of the foundation of the city of Denver. Within the last two months, EPA officials using helicopters with special equipment discovered more than 30 radioactive areas in the city. This included a pancake house, a college union building, numerous office buildings and homes. Many of the city streets of Denver were found to be paved with uranium."

Twenty billion tons of uranium mill tailings will be produced by the year 2000. A debate has been raging recently in the news media about whether or not nuclear materials can be isolated from the population but in the case of the mill tailings, that question has already been answered. Homes, schools, roads, public buildings, and other structures have already been built from radioactive mill tailings and people are being exposed to that radioactivity. The bottom line of the uranium mill tailings problem is one which deserves utmost consideration:

"Another important dimension of the mill tailings problem relates to the question of what happens to the tailings ponds when the milling companies cease operation...?..there are no obvious technological solutions in sight." (*HEALTH DANGERS OF THE NUCLEAR FUEL CHAIN AND LOW–LEVEL IONIZING RADIATION, p.17, excerpted from INTERIM REPORT ON NUCLEAR POWER IN ONTARIO, by A. Porter*)

There are no obvious technical solutions in sight.

THE NUCLEAR FOOL CYCLE

Dangerous radioactive materials are beginning to turn up in the strangest places. One of the major sources (and the source about which there is the least information) is the military use of nuclear products in the production of weapons. The potential of death and destruction which lies in the stockpile of nuclear weapons is simply awesome – enough, it is said, to kill every human being on earth 14 times over. Typically, the weapons program has added to the problem of human exposure to radioactive waste.

"During the first week of May (1979), long–forgotten quantities of radioactive waste were discovered in an old warehouse in Elizabeth, New Jersey; in a water silo in Lewiston, New York; and at a shopping center construction site in Jersey City, New Jersey. The Lewiston and Jersey City wastes had been left over from the Manhattan Project – Washington's crash effort to build an atomic bomb in the 1940s." (*INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS, by Fred Murphy, Vol.17, No.19, May 21, 1979*)

The U.S. military has played a major role in exposing the population of the world to the dangers of radioactivity in all its forms.

Early research into the use of the atom was conducted primarily for military purposes and resulted in the atomic devices which were deployed over the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki near the end of World War II. The military, especially the U.S.Navy, pressed forward nuclear research in an effort to produce a submarine which could stay underwater indefinitely. (Conventional submarines are operated on battery–driven motors and must resurface often to recharge the batteries.)

The cold war spurred development of atomic power even further. During the early 1950s, U.S. efforts were directed at stemming what was considered as the dangerous spread of socialism. At that time, American policy makers were aware of the limitations of the world's supply of oil, and they predicted that fuel supplies would begin to tighten in the mid–1970s. The technological elite of America set a course designed to make the world safe for capitalism. As a part of that plan, nuclear technologies would be turned over to private industry which would then concentrate on the "peaceful uses of the atom". When plans for the construction of a nuclear aircraft carrier were stalled, Navy personnel approached Westinghouse and General Electric officials with a proposal to use the same technological principles for the construction of land–based electrical power generating plants. At first, the big corporations were reluctant to adopt the idea because they felt that nuclear power would be too costly. Every indication thus far is that they were right about that.

But the overall deal which was offered by the military was an extremely lucrative one. The military was essentially handing over to selected private industry hundreds of millions of dollars worth of publicly financed nuclear research, along with the warm assurances of additional billions of dollars in government contracts. It was an offer that the big corporations couldn't refuse. The original idea was that fission plants would operate to produce a significant amount of the United States' energy needs until the technological problems associated with fusion (breeder) reactors could be overcome. In the meantime, it was felt that the technological problems associated with fission reactors, the kind operated and under construction in the U.S. today, could be overcome.

The role of ideology in the proliferation of nuclear technology is one which cannot be overlooked or understated if we are to understand the situation in the world today regarding nuclear power. The originators of this plan believed that nuclear power would be the tool which would perpetuate the capitalist system, and they have pushed forth ever since in a kind of holy war mentality which equates pro–nuclear with pro–American and anti–nuclear with anti–American. The development of the atom, they believed, would provide America with a cheap and inexhaustible supply of power and would stand as the symbol of the triumph of capitalism over socialism. They believed then, as they believe now, that somehow all the technological problems associated with fission reactors would be overcome, and that the future lies in the development of fusion (breeder) reactors. The leaders of the military/industrial complex which is pushing forward for a "nuclear future" still believe this, and their propaganda machinery has been in gear to convince the American people of this for thirty years. In the meantime, the Soviet Union has been working feverishly to make nuclear energy the cornerstone of a policy designed to make the world safe for socialism. It can be argued that the Soviets were pressured into that posture, but there can be no question that the Soviet Union is today a major producer of nuclear materials. Ideology is a powerful force in human events.

The major amount of nuclear material which exists in the world today is associated with the nuclear electrical generating plants which are operating in the United States, the Soviet Union and increasingly, around the world. Uranium is used as a fuel in the generation of electricity in nuclear power plants. Thus, the materials which began their contact with humanity in the mines and mills in remote and sparcely populated areas of the world eventually find their way to nuclear power plants situated all over North America, Europe, and the world.

THE POSSIBILITY OF A NUCLEAR DISASTER

There is a continuing argument in Congress and in the newspapers about whether nuclear power plants could experience catastrophic accidents or "meltdowns". It is

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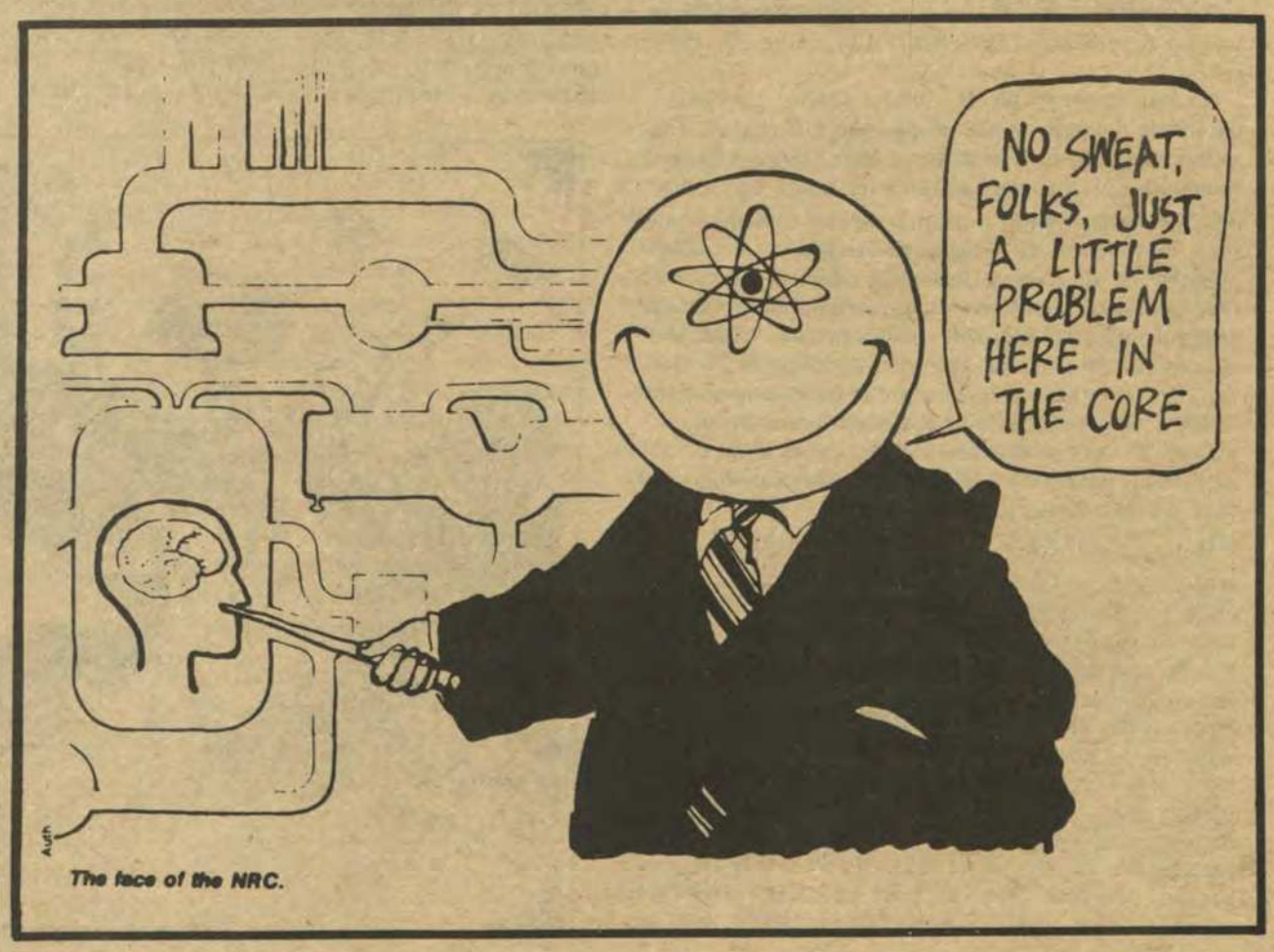

The face of the NRC.

possible that the cooling mechanism of a reactor core could become exposed, that a chain reaction would result which would get out of control and the reactor core would become superheated. There is a considerable disagreement about what would happen if this occurred. Some critics of the nuclear power industry say that the superheated core would become a fireball which would melt through the floor of the reactor and sink into the earth. How far it would go no one knows, but some experts speculate that it would sink until it reached some subsurface water at which point there would be a kind of explosion which would result in nuclear contamination over a large area. The spectre of a sinking ball of superheated radioactive mass has been dubbed the "china syndrome", and provided the basis for the title of a popular recent movie.

The nuclear industry and the pro–nuclear lobby have been arguing rather vociferously that nuclear power plants are safe because the technology to prevent meltdown is in place. They point to the accident at Three Mile Island as proof that a meltdown is extremely remote and that the technology did work to prevent a meltdown at Three Mile Island. It is unfortunate that the news media has focused the question of nuclear safety almost entirely around the question of a meltdown. Meltdown is not the only danger that the nuclear industry poses to the people of the world.

"In the past ten years, every child born on earth has carried some radioactive strontium in his bones. The radioactive carbon in the atmosphere has doubled, and all of us bear some of this burden in our tissue." (*DENE YAHTEE, No.1, April 15, 1979, Regina, Sask., p.4*)

"In summary, every time radioactive waste is dumped into a stream, buried, dropped into the ocean, discharged into the air, or otherwise released from human control, it passes into the complex world of living things. It will pass from living thing to living thing, sometimes being concentrated, other times being dispersed with an efficiency and ingenuity which we have not yet come to understand. Because our lack of understanding or inability to control radiation, radioactive waste will reappear in our food, air, or water. IT WILL NOT GO AWAY FOR DECADES, OR CENTURIES, OR EVEN MILLINIA." (*DENE YAHTEE, ibid, p.3*)

Even when everything is going all right according to industry standards, things are going wrong.

"Cancer rates leaped 58% between 1970 and 1975 in Waterford County, Connecticut, site of the Millstone nuclear power plant, according to a study by radiation expert Dr. Ernest Sternglass of the University of Pittsburgh. Five miles upwind, in New London, cancer rates jumped 44%. New Haven, thirty miles upwind, suffered a 27% cancer rate hike. The national average was up 6 percent." (*THE MILITANT, June 22, 1979, p.11*)

Nuclear power plants, under ideal conditions, constitute a danger to the people who live nearby. This spring the near–disaster at Three Mile Island politicized thousands of people, and there have been mass demonstrations against nuclear power all over the world since then. There is a rising demand that all nuclear facilities be shut down. Informed observers comment that shutdown won't be easily accomplished because government and industry have already committed billions of dollars to the construction of nuclear facilities, and that the lion's share of the expense (to the utility companies) involves the construction of the plants. Those corporations can be counted on to do everything possible to keep their plants running until they get their investment back.

Multinational corporations have spent most of this century conducting a massive socialization campaign to make the American people into mass consumers of their gadgetry. Companies too numerous to list have created for our convenience and for their profits all manner of air conditioners, refrigerators, television sets, stereos, hair–dryers, electric toothbrushes, ad infinitum. The industry is a growth oriented one which receives profits from both ends – at the appliance store and through the utility bill. They have (successfully) promoted the ideology among American consumers that nuclear reactors are the only viable avenue to what they describe as the American Way of Life, and that everything involves some risk. The nuclear industry and its supporters admit that nuclear power development is a risk, but they urge upon us that it is an "acceptable risk". It isn't true that the development of nuclear power is the only way to sustain the vaunted American Way of Consumerism. In *MENACE OF ATOMIC ENERGY*, R. Nader and J. Abbotts state:

"A commitment to develop energy–efficient buildings by 1990 could alone save more energy than nuclear power is expected to supply even at historical growth rates."

And it isn't true that nuclear energy is an acceptable risk. There have already been a number of frightening nuclear accidents.

There was an accident at Idaho Falls in 1961 where three technicians were killed. The core of a reactor near Detroit partially melted in 1966. The incident was kept secret and in fact there were "behind closed door" meetings concerning the evacuation of Detroit's 1.5 million people. The Detroit plant was closed permanently. In 1970, a reactor was shut down at Morris, Illinois. In 1977, at Richland, Washington, a reactor was temporarily shut down after 60,000 gallons of contaminated water leaked into the Columbia River. In 1978 near Denver a power plant leaked radioactive Helium and 200 workers were evacuated and roads were sealed off for five miles around the plant. There have been countless other minor leaks in other places.

Nuclear accidents aren't limited to the United States. Some accidents in the Soviet Union were more serious than anything yet experienced in the West. On June 29, 1979, the GUARDIAN, a leading alternative newspaper, reported:

"U.S. observation satellites detected a fire and explosion in 1973 at the Schevchenko fast–breeder nuclear power station on the Mangyshlake Peninsula on the Caspian Sea. Available data suggest the blast may have been caused by a failure of the cooling system. The reactor was shutdown following the accident.

"Hundreds of square miles were contaminated by an explosion in a high–level military waste storage site at Kyshtym in the Urals in 1957. Hundreds of residents in the area subsequently died of radiation sickness. Travelers years later were still warned to avoid the contaminated area entirely or to travel through swiftly with all windows rolled up tightly.

"A second accident apparently happened at Kyshtym in 1960. An eyewitness' account obtained by the CIA describes a 'terrible explosion' that made the ground and buildings shake. Soon after, all the trees in the area were covered by a thick layer of red dust. Blast victims were brought to a nearby hospital 'with the skin of their faces and hands and other exposed parts of their bodies sloughing off.'

"No account of these disasters have ever been published in the Soviet bloc. While the CIA obtained intelligence reports of these events, they were kept secret - apparently to avoid fueling our own nuclear controversy - until pried loose a few years ago by Nader's Critical Mass organization through a Freedom of Information Act law suit."

Recently, some reports from the Soviet Union indicate that some Soviet scientists are concerned about the impact of the nuclear program on the environment. Articles have appeared in scientific journals and that could mean that the Soviet government is becoming concerned.

The West hasn't experienced an accidental explosion or a meltdown yet, but don't let them tell you it isn't a possibility. At the height of the Three Mile Island crisis, the public learned that a gas bubble had formed at the top of the containment vessel. The people who were talking to the press said that they didn't know what caused it, but that what had formed was a hydrogen bubble. It was later learned that scientists knew all along where the bubble came from and they didn't want the public to know because the problem cannot be corrected with the current technology.

Zirconium alloy is used to sheath the uranium rods in a water cooled reactor. Zirconium is used because it is the only known substance that can withstand the extreme radioactivity and high temperatures at the reactor core.

"Zirconium alloy (Zircalloy) is used to sheath the uranium rods because it doesn't absorb the neutrons generated by, and necessary for, the controlled nuclear fission that keeps the reactor going. It is also resistant to corrosion and transfers heat well...at temperatures above 1,100 degrees C. (1,989 degrees F.), zirconium reacts rapidly with steam with a large evolution of heat and the formation of free hydrogen." (*SEVEN DAYS, June 5, 1979, "Clay the Rod and Spoil the Child", p.27*)

It was a hydrogen bubble that caused concern that there could either be an explosion which would result in widespread radioactive contamination, or that the core could be exposed, an event which could have led to meltdown. Technicians at Three Mile Island were able to defuse the situation that time, but they can't remove the basic problem which exists. The basic problem is that in each step of the nuclear energy program, radioactive materials leak into the environment which come into contact with human populations. There will never be enough technology to reverse that irreversible fact. While the Three Mile Island crisis was in the papers every day, peoples attention was focused on the possibility of meltdown and the hydrogen gas bubble which we were told could explode and cause a disaster. A considerable disaster had already happened – radioactive materials had leaked into the atmosphere.

The hydrogen bubble did serve to illustrate the absurdity of the industry's position that nuclear materials can be controlled and isolated from the public. Zirconium is, as yet, irreplaceable as a cladding material. According to N.Y. scientist Dr. Daniel Piselio, the scenario which occurred at TMI isn't the only problem with zirconium cladding:

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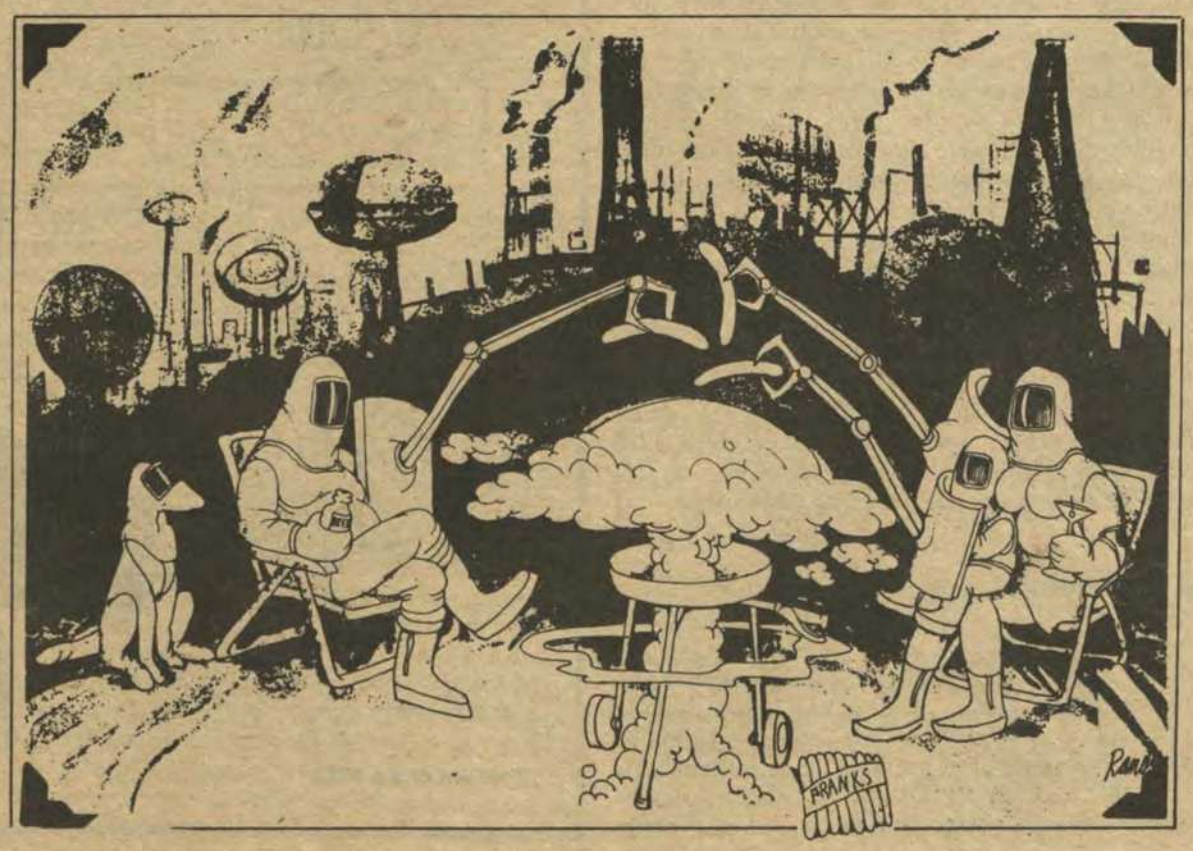

RADIATION CONTINUED

"...rods are actually thin zirconium tubes filled with radioactive waste, including deadly plutonium...They're stored in circulating pools on the plant site, so that only a few feet of water separates the flammable zirconium from the air in which it may ignite...A zirconium fire in a spent fuel rod storage pool is one of the worst conceivable disasters because tons of plutonium would be smoked out into the atmosphere." (*ROCHESTER PATRIOT, May 18 – June 7, 1979, p.1*)

The state of the art of nuclear power generation carries with it a definite element of risk. While the nation's and the world's eyes were focused on the hydrogen bubble at TMI, most people failed to pay much attention to the cloud of radioactive gases which escaped to contaminate the area. The prospect of a sudden nuclear catastrophe is sensational news, and TMI sparked debates about whether a meltdown could occur which would contaminate "an area the size of Pennsylvania". But it obscured the fact that the very existence of the nuclear power industry is a nuclear catastrophe. Nuclear contamination is cumulative and will effect people for generations to come. A leak here, a spill there – pretty soon you're talking about a lot of contamination.

URANIUM – A 30 YEAR SUPPLY

America's power suppliers have an enormous investment in place which they are now trying to protect. Electrical installations in the U.S. are valued at well over $100 billion, and all of that investment depends on mass consumption of power generated under the control of the corporations. These giant corporations realized three decades ago that hydro–powered generation plants would not be able to keep up with the level of possible consumption, that oil supplies would begin to run short during the 1970's, and that problems existed with coal–fired generators. It will surprise some people to hear that they also knew that there were some basic problems with nuclear power plants. The first basic problem, from the perspective of the owners of the plants, is that fuel for the kind of plants being constructed today won't last very long.

"Nuclear power, however, seems to be only a short term option. Unfortunately, the best guess of the experts in the field of uranium supply (the fuel for nuclear reactors) says that uranium resources won't last much beyond the turn of the century. Thus, uranium will last about as long as oil, certainly no longer.

"The best guess of the experts in the field can be found in *Problems of U.S. Uranium Resources and Supply to the Year 2010*,Supporting Paper I of the National Research Council's study of Nuclear and Alternative Energy systems. The authors of this study are professors and consultants specializing in uranium resource evaluation. They have presented uranium supply data based on an extension of present uranium exploration practice – Scenario I, moderately enhanced exploration practice – Scenario II, and a Full Commitment to Nuclear Energy – Sceneario III. Even with the recently reduced nuclear power demand and a full commitment to uranium discovery, the experts agree that uranium production will peak around 1995 with a rapid decrease in uranium production – a bust – over the next ten years...

"This information has important implications. One, if this study is accurate, nuclear power is no more than a stop gap energy solution, the hundreds of billions of dollars investment will only have a 30 year useful life and will have only a minor impact on the period beyond 2010. Two, if the present investment is to be useful even over 30 years, uranium mining districts will have to experience a 'five–fold increase in the rate of discovery and development of reserves.' Such an increase means even more intense mining pressure in existing mining areas. Particularly involved are Wyoming and New Mexico, which have over 80% of the nation's uranium reserves and over 80% of the recent exploration work." *(THE WORK BOOK, Vol IV, No. 1, Jan/Feb/Mar. 1979, p. 30 – – "Supporting Paper I" from Uranium Resources Group of the Committee on Nuclear and Alternative Energy Systems of the National Research Council, National Academy of Sciences, Washington, DC. 73 pp., $6, 1978.)*

Actually some of that statement is slightly incomplete. It is true that there will be billions and billions of dollars of investment which will be useless when the nuclear fuel runs out, but try to keep in mind that those are taxpayers' and ratepayers' dollars. Your electric company knows all about the thirty year lifespan of its plants and has figured the cost into your light bill. And it's not true that the plants will have only a minor impact after 2010. Radioactive materials will have an impact for thousands of year to come.

NUCLEAR SAFETY IS A FRAUD

The corporate decision to develop nuclear power was based on projections that the fission plants would be profitable. They also believed (and they still believe) that sometime in the future, fusion plants (or breeder reactors) would become practical. The prospect of the breeder reactor is something of the dream–come–true for corporate and technological man. Breeder reactors would be akind of perpetual motion machine, one which actually created more fuel than it used. It would provide an inexpensive and inexhaustible supply of power for the industrial world, not to mention an unlimited source of profits for the corporations. Alas, the breeder reactors have also provided an inexhaustible supply of problems for the technicians, not the least of which has been their inability to find a suitable material which can act as a bottle to contain the millions of degrees of heat generated by the fusion process. The accountant's book on breeders is that they are uneconomical.

The frightening problem with the breeder, however, is that it promises to produce untold amounts of plutonium. We have already seen that in spite of a massive public relations campaign to focus public attention on the relative merits of the machinery that cools reactors, the fact remains that enormous amounts of radioactive materials escape into the atmosphere and into contact with humans at the mining site and between the milling site and the power plant. More materials are lost at the plant, and more yet are lost between the power plant and the enrichment plant. Still more radioactive substances are lost between the enrichment plant and the power plant, and some are lost between the power plant and its final resting place. It is not even necessary to argue about whether some escapes from waste storage facilities (which had already happened), enough was lost en route that the whole process is simply lunatic.

There is not now, and there will never be, technology which can prevent these losses of radioactive materials. A technology for that can't be developed because there are too many variables – – too many tons of tailings, too many "human error" possibilities, too many possibilities of accident. Trying to shut off the escape or loss of radioactive materials is the technological equivalent of trying to stamp out the common cold. It can't be done because it's not one problem but hundreds of problems and scientists haven't begun to identify most of those problems even after almost forty years of working with these substances.

The problems of insulating the public from the radioactive substances which are produced in the present nuclear fuel program pale next to the problems which would loom under the breeder reactor program, should breeders ever become economically viable. Tons and tons of plutonium, the most poisonous substance ever known to man, would be produced. An amount of plutonium much smaller than can be seen by the naked eye will cause lung cancer if breathed by a human being. There is no technology and there never will be a technology that can keep those amounts of plutonium out of contact with human beings. Fortunately thus far the breeder reactors have proven commercially and technically impractical.

What the present nuclear energy policy boils down to is that for thirty years of energy supply the water tables of the Navajo and Pueblo peoples will be polluted with uranium residue forever. Large areas of the Southwest and the Northern Great Plains will be rendered uninhabitable by human populations, Native Nations will be utterly destroyed as peoples, untold thousands and perhaps millions will die of cancer, and millions more will be exposed every day of their lives to the possibility of nuclear disaster in their backyards. For generations to come, people will be living in the presence of hidden, invisible and deadly radioactive wastes. And this is just the tip of the atomburg!

This is what will happen if everything goes according to plan. This is the Most Positive Outcome Scenario. The other possibilities, and they are real possibilities, sound a lot like the plot of a Grade B horror movie. Try to keep in mind that this is all being done so that there will be, theoretically, electricity to turn the wheels of industry and keep the Sacred Standard of Living that industry has promised Western consumers since the cradle. We are truly living in the Age of Madness.

The whole of the nuclear energy program is a massive and deadly fraud. A commitment to an energy conservation program would save more energy than the nuclear power plants will produce and it would do so indefinitely without poisoning the environment. The industry's arguments about safe exposure levels are a fraud, the argument about the need for nuclear power plants is a fraud, the argument that radioactive materials can be transported and handled without danger to the public is a fraud, and the argument that radioactive wastes can be safely stored is a fraud. The argument that nuclear power plants can be made absolutely safe from the possibility of accident is a fraud, too. Typically, Native peoples are the first victims of this fraud.

"Ultimately, the nuclear monster will move on to the lands of all people in America and the world unless it can be stopped by the growing movement of resistance to nuclear power. What happens with the success of Indian struggles against uranium exploitation on their lands at Four Corners is only a sign of what will happen to all of us in America in the nuclear age.

"We have seen that Native Americans are exposed to the first phase of the nuclear fuel cycle – – uranium exploration, mining and milling operations. Indians in the Southwest will soon probably be exposed to the second and third phases of the nuclear fuel cycle – – nuclear power generation and waste disposal. The world's largest nuclear reactor is now being constructed 50 miles west of Phoenix. The Palo Verde plant is scheduled for completion in the 1980's. A second plant, at Tucumcari, New Mexico, is in the planning stages.

"Now the federal government plans to locate the national nuclear waste disposal site near Carlsbad, New Mexico, just south of the Mescalaro Apache reservation. The proposal is called the Waste Isolation Pilot Project (WIPP). Every nuclear reactor produces 400–500 pounds of plutonium wastes. Plutonium is a very deadly

radioactive substance with a half–life of 240,000 years. The nuclear industry's strategy so far has been to store the wastes in temporary sites, in the hope that the Federal government can come up with a safe system for permanently storing wastes. The fact that 500,000 gallons of high level radioactive wastes have leaked from the storage tanks at the Hanford reactor in Washington alone, is testimony to the inadequacy of existing waste storage or disposal systems.

". . . What the American empire demands, the Indian Nations supply, even if it's at the cost of their lands, their culture, and their lives. This does not have to be. If America made a real commitment to developing alternative energy sources like solar, then there would be no 'need' to rape the Mother Earth of the Indians for coal and uranium resources. And if our precious nonrenewable energy sources were not controlled by an elite group of multinational corporations whose only concern is for profits and fueling the growth mania of urban industrial America, then the United States could begin to use the almost limitless energy of the sun for supplying our needs. There would be no need for the continuation of the destruction of Native American lands and culture at Four Corners, or for the migration of the nuclear monster around the globe." *(Weiss, p. 126-128.)*

Amen.

––JOHN MOHAWK

SHORT NOTES

ATTORNEYS DRUMMED OFF RESERVATIONS

PINE RIDGE, S.D. (AP) – Sioux Indian leaders said attorneys were drummed of at least three reservations last week when they tried to explain the cash settlement they negotiated with the federal government for disputed Indian land.

Oglala Sioux Tribal Chairman Elijah Whirlwind Horse said he was relieved Friday when attorney Art Lazarus left Pine Ridge without confronting a jumpy crowd at a public meeting.

Sources on the Rosebud and Crow Creek Reservations said attorneys were shouted down at meetings there Thursday.

Pine Ridge Reservation BIA Administrator Wayne Adkison said the attorneys were visiting all eight Sioux agencies presenting an offer from Congress to compensate the tribes for loss of land. He said this week's meetings concerned land on the fringe of the Black Hills and not the much–disputed $105 million attorneys had negotiated with the federal government to repay the Sioux for the Black Hills they lost 100 years ago. The tribal chairman said the area in that dispute includes not just the Hills, which are sacred to the Sioux religion, but also all of western South Dakota up to the east bank of the Missouri River.

"If we had the whole western part of South Dakota we could tell Uncle Sam to take his welfare", Whirlwind Horse said. "There's no way in hell we're going to let all of that go for $105 million."

He said Indian activist groups have been most concerned about the Black Hills claim because it involves the Sioux religion, but he said the purpose of Friday's meeting was to discuss another issue – a $40 million payment for lands in several states bordering on the Black Hills.

"At first, the opposition was not too great to that one, and we might have been able to settle that part of it", Whirlwind Horse said. "But not now. Now there's no differentiation between that and the Black Hills claim."

(from the Sunday Forum, Fargo–Moorhead, of Sept.9, 1979)

NAVAJO FIGHTS INTRUSION

by Tom Barry

Katherine Smith, a traditional Navajo, says that she will fight to her death to hold onto her family's land in the Navajo–Hopi Joint Use Area (JUA) in northern Arizona.

Last week, federal police arrested Smith for attempting to interfere with the construction of a fence through the Big Mountain community. Smith, a sheepherder who speaks no English, fired a shot at the fencing crew, who are constructing a 275 mile fence across the JUA land.

Smith is one of 5200 Navajos facing relocation from the JUA lands. In 1974, the U.S. Congress passed legislation dividing the JUA's 2.4 million acres equally between the Navajo and Hopi tribes. Most of the lands have been settled by Navajo families who use the desolate land to herd their sheep. Unlike the Navajos, the Hopi people live in tight–knit communities and have not made much use of the JUA lands. Only 100 Hopis face relocation by the JUA land division.

The Navajos of Big Mountain charge that the JUA relocation scheme is a continuation of the historic displacement of Indian people in the U.S.

"It is time for the national Indian community to take note of the inhumanity and injustice inflicted upon the Navajo people", says Roman Bitsui of Big Mountain. "It was not long ago, afterall, that other Indian tribes were being herded off their lands by the U.S. Army."

On Oct. 4, Big Mountain residents traveled to Albuquerque where they were joined by supporters in a march to the conference of the National Congress of American Indians (NCAI).

The marchers told the NCAI delegates: "We declare total resistance to be removed from our homes and ancestral lands to be relocated. We further declare our right to live in peace and harmony with our Hopi neighbors, and that the Dine (Navajo) and Hopi shall maintain traditional ties as did their ancestors against those who seek to destroy their traditional bond of culture and aboriginal ownership of land."

The Big Mountain Navajos contend that the U.S. government has engineered an artificial conflict between the two Indian peoples. The Hopi Tribal Council, which has been lobying for the division of lands, does not represent the wishes of the traditional Hopi residents, the protesters told the national Indian gathering.

This summer the Big Mountain residents received support from the religious leaders of the Hopi Independent Nation which called for a repeal of the JUA division law and the end to fencing off the lands. The traditional Hopi leaders said that the actions of the Hopi Tribal Council are illegal since it is a government imposed on the Hopi by the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

"The real purpose of the laws is to remove the traditional from their lands to make it possible to mine the coal that lies under the entire Joint Use Area", stated the Big Mountain Navajos in their resolution to NCAI.

Just to the north of the Big Mountain community lies the Black Mesa coal mine of Peabody Coal. Peabody is now leasing 64,000 acres of Navajo and Hopi land containing 2 billion tons of strippable coal. Peabody pays the Indian tribes 25 cents a ton for the coal.

While the federal Joint Use Area Administration office is proceeding with the division of the land with its fencing work, the government has not yet come up with a plan to relocate the thousands of Navajos.

"There is no place for us to go", says Jo Biakeddy, one of the Navajos facing relocation.

Most of the Navajos slated for relocation are traditional people with no education and no marketable skills. "All we know how to do is herd sheep and live on the land", complains Roberta Black of Big Mountain. "We won't be able to live in the cities."

White off–reservation ranchers have mounted strong opposition to the federal government's proposal to relocate the Navajos on off–reservation grazing lands.

"When the time comes, if we don't have any other choice, we are going to use our fists", says Ruth Benally, 62. "No matter how small I am, I'll fight to the end."

GUARDIAN – OCTOBER 24, 1979 – p.7

Eva Postell, a 13–year–old Black girl, has been sentenced by a Florida judge to 114 years in prison for her part in robing and killing an 85–year–old white man. Florida has the most archaic criminal laws in the books, has been pushing vigorously to carry out death sentences, and seems destined to become a showcase for injustice in America.

JOHN WAYNE KILLED BY "FRIENDLY FIRE"?

British reports say John Wayne may have gotten cancer from A-bomb dust.

John Wayne may have contracted cancer from exposure to radioactive fallout, according to British newspaper reports. Wayne was filming *The Conquerors* in St. George, Utah when radioactive fallout from an atomic blast in Nevada settled over the town. The cancer deaths of co–stars Susan Hayward, Dick Powell, Agnes Moorhead and the movie's art director, production manager and wardrobe mistress were also linked to the blast.

Co–actor Pedro Armendariz killed himself in June 1963 upon being told he had lymph gland cancer.

SHORT NOTES

GERARD COPS OUT

Assistant Secretary of the Interior for Indian Affairs Forrest Gerard told newsmen and tribal officials at a press conference in Window Rock, Ariz. that he has no power under the law to change the situation in the Hopi–Navajo Joint Use Area. Gerard has taken the position that the dispute which threatens to displace thousands of traditional Navajos in the largest and most dishonorable Indian removal program this century is an Act of Congress for which he accepts no responsibility. I am "charged with the responsibility of upholding public laws," he says.

CHEROKEES FILE DAM SUIT

The Eastern Band of Cherokees have filed suit in federal court to halt construction of the Tellico Dam in Tennessee because, according to Chairman Dan McCoy, closing the gates of the dam ". . . will completely destroy our sacred lands which include innumerable grave and cemetery sites, the Cherokee capital of Echota, Tennasi from which the state of Tennessee derived its name as well as over 200 archeological sites of immeasurable and irreplacable value." The case is called *Ammenota Sequoyah, Richard Crowe, Gilliam Jackson, Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians, United Ketooah Band of Cherokee Indians vs. TVA* and is based on the constitutional right of freedom of religion and on Public Law 95–341, American Indian Religious Freedom Act.

NUCLEAR WASTE DUMP

The prospect of the first permanent nuclear waste dump in the U.S. drew more than 600 protesters to Florencia, N.M. September 28–30 in a demonstration against plans to store massive amounts of deadly waste on thirty square miles of Chicano land. The federal Waste Isolation Pilot Plant would bury 679 million gallons of radioactive wastes in the salt flats here. Two thousand truckloads and 1500 railroad cars full of waste would travel through New Mexico each year with their deadly cargo. Marcia Gomex from the August 29th Chicano Moratorium Coalition in Los Angeles said, "We support the right of sovereignty of Native Americans and self–determination for the Chicano people. We oppose dumping radioactive wastes on the land and rivers of indigenous peoples." (From UNITY magazine.)

LAZARUS DUMPED

Arthur Lazarus is a Washington–based attorney who has had much more success at writing controversial legislation than he has experienced in the courtroom. Not long ago he was given an armed escort off the Pine Ridge Reservation as a safety precaution. And recently, the Santo Domingo Pueblo people fired him outright as their land claims attorney.

INDIAN BANK?

The All Indian Development Corporation has announced plans for the creation of a development bank in the Indian country. Joe Baca, who is president of AIDC and is also executive director of the All Indian Development Association, has said that the proposed bank (called American Indian Development Financial Institute) would be similar to development banks throughout the world, most of which are funded by the World Bank. Moneys for AIDFI might come from Congress or from investors in the private sector. Brrr!!

NEBRASKA INDIANS RESIST KV LINE

In May, four high voltage power line towers were toppled on the Winnebago Indian reservation in northeast Nebraska. Winnebago landowners have been engaged in a court struggle with the power line which runs from Canada through the Dakotas and into Nebraska.

INDIAN JURISDICTION UPHELD

Allen J. Sockabasin and Albert C. Dana are two men who were convicted in a Maine court of trying to burn the Indian Township School. On appeal, however, the Maine supreme court ruled unanimously that the crime occurred in "Indian country" and that Maine had no jurisdiction. William Holmes, a non–Indian charged with manslaughter in the death of a Penobscot man on Indian Island, offered the same defense and the courts agreed. Now the Passamaquoddy and Penobscot tribes are setting up Indian courts and the Supreme Court is reviewing the cases.

THEY DO IT AGAIN

People on the Fort Hall (Idaho) Reservation have been told by some local officials that nothing has changed in a century and they are like servants to the White man. "When the Indians talk about rights, they should remember it's like a master–servant relationship," Power County Deputy Prosecutor Ben Cavaness said. "The Lord giveth and the Lord taketh away," he continued. "This is the white man's case: There are more of than there are of them. If the treaty gives them rights, treaties can be amended." The rhetoric arose out of a zoning ordinance passed by the tribe and which was being violated by a state representative who has expanded his trailer park on the reservation in violation of the ordinance.

RED LAKE CALMER?

The situation at Red Lake has apparently cooled down for the time being. Stephanie Hanson was reinstated as tribal treasurer, and Chairman Roger Jourdain presides over council meetings in Bemedji, Minn. The shooting has stopped, although the FBI says that there may be more criminal charges filed. Thus far no conclusions have been announced by the Inspector General's Office of the Interior Department which was summoned to audit both BIA and tribal records. The atmosphere is described as "still tense", and the Interior Department seems to be content with a policy that if enough police are on the scene, the problem is solved.

WHO GETS WATER?

Sen. John Melcher, who is chairman of the Senate Select Committee on Indian Affairs, has issued statements which oppose the actions of the Justice Department in filing suits in Montana which may protect Indian water rights there. "This strong–arm tactic by the Justice Department must be met with strong resistance by Montanans on behalf of the future agricultural users of the state. Montana's agricultural use of water is likely to double in the next 15 years, with sprinkler irrigation finding beneficial uses for thousands of more acres of Montana land."

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LITTLE COMPENSATION TO NAVAJO

On September 26, the Senate Select Committee on Indian Affairs approved a measure to provide $31.3 million to buy up to 200,000 acres to expand the Navajo reservation in order to relocate thousands of Navajos displaced as the result of a 1974 act of Congress. The House Interior Committee also approved a bill that would provide $10 million to purchase up to 50,000 acres to be given to either Navajos or Hopis. Sponsors of the legislation say that the 1974 law did not provide enough money and public lands to accomplish the relocation.

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FISHERMEN BEWARE

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People who fish in the waters between the New Jersey Turnpike and the Delaware River have been warned not to eat the fish because of high levels of the pesticide chlordane. Chlordane was in common use 10 years ago but has since been banned as a cancer–causing agent.

BIA AND TIMBER

The tribal forestry director has warned the Navajo Nation that the forests on the Navajo reservation are nearly depleted. Gerald Henry told reporters that the Navajo Nation has 20 years in which to save its forests. He blamed the damage to the forests on the BIA's timber cutting plan which allows no time for regeneration of trees. The Navajos have a 700,000 acre forest in northeast Arizona and northwest New Mexico. Last year 43.5 million board feet were harvested from those forests.

NATIVE RIGHTS VS. HUMAN RIGHTS

An article entitled "Giving America (Well, Parts of It) Back to the Indians," by David Ivins which recently appeared in *Cavalier* magazine gave an outline of the struggle for Native rights and ended with these words: ". . . with the U.S. Government criticizing other nations about human rights, the world will be watching to see if we practice what we preach. This time, the Indian will be a more formidable opponent because he knows that if he loses now, he loses everything. In 1979, we may see a modern–day version of the Massacre at Wounded Knee or another Battle of the Little Big Horn." Mr. Ivins has gotta be kidding.

WAMPANOAGS LOSE ON APPEAL

The Supreme Court has denied the appeal of the Wampanoag tribe of Massachusetts in which a District federal court had dismissed a land claim suit on the grounds that although the Wampanoags were at various points in history a tribe, they did not have standing as a tribe to press a land claim. Members of the Wampanoag Nation vow that the battle is not over. They will now press for federal recognition as a tribe, and will continue to pursue their claim.

YELLOWBIRD AWARDED SETTLEMENT

An all–white jury has awarded Jo Ann Yellowbird $300,000 in damages in a civil rights case which arose out of an incident in which 3 Gordon, Nebraska police officers kicked her in the stomach and caused the death of her unborn daughter in 1976. Ms Yellowbird had brought an $8 million suit against six Nebraska law enforcement officials, the city of Gordon, Sheridan County and a Gordon physician. The city of Gordon and former Gordon Police Department officer Clifford Valentine were found liable for violations of the Oglala Sioux woman's civil rights. Valentine and the city of Gordon are appealing the decision.

U.S. VS. NATURAL WORLD

Public officials seem to be intent on sparking an ecological disaster in exchange for ridiculously small short–term election credits. The Carter Administration has approved drilling on Georges Bank, thus endangering the richest fishing region in the world. They have also approved plans for an oil refinery on Chesapeake Bay, North America's major source of shellfish. There is no technology which can prevent oil spills at oil refineries, and none which can control runaway underwater oil accidents. And the effects of those kinds of accidents is that the natural food resources of the continent are being reduced with each new application of modern energy producing technology.

ANIMALS DISAPPEARING

Tribal councils on the Pine Ridge, Rosebud and Standing Rock reservations in the Dakotas have called for a voluntary halt to all hunting of big game, fur bearers, game birds and predators. No hunting of such game is to take place for two years on Pine Ridge and Rosebud, and for one year on Standing Rock. A recent aerial survey indicated that these game populations were becoming seriously depleted.

SHORT NOTES

UNNECESSARY DAM?

The politics of development follows no rhyme or reason as enacted by the U.S. Congress. Sen. Howard Baker of Tennessee pushed through legislation to complete the Tellico Dam for the pettiest of local reasons even though there are unquestioned findings that the dam will be economically wasteful as well as damaging to the land. With such thinking in the minds of men in power, the world is in trouble.

COHABITATION AT SPOKANE

The Spokane Tribe of Washington has enacted an ordinance which makes cohabitation illegal and which imposes a jail term of up to 30 days and/or a fine of up to $100 for those caught *in flangrante dilecto.* They stated that the idea of consensual, informal, and non–ceremonial marriages runs against the grain of the Spokane Tribe as a Christian Tribe.

ACID RAIN A THREAT

A commission of scientists who are charged with monitoring the effects of acid rains in the Great Lakes region have stated new research indicates that: By 1995 more than 50,000 lakes in the U.S. and Canada could be virtually devoid of fish and other forms of life; vast areas of prime forest land could be rendered economically unproductive for decades; drinking water and fish supplies for millions of people could be contaminated by poisonous metals (lead, mercury, copper and aluminum) extracted from water pipes or rocks and sediment by acidified waters; and that lakes in Minn. which were previously considered safe from acid rain could suffer large fish kills when acidic snowpacks melt into them in the spring. Some scientists said that widespread destruction of animal and plant life by acid rain is inevitable in eastern North America in as soon as 10 years unless the amount of coal burned to generate electricity is reduced immediately. (From an article in the July 17, 1979 edition of MIDWEEK, a publication of the *MINNEAPOLIS STAR.)*

NEW.

An Arizona Department of Health Services spokesman has recently stated that a recent federal court decision held that South Dakota does not have the authority to commit reservation Indians to state mental facilities without their consent. And an Arizona Department of Transportation official has said that Arizona is unable to spend money to develop airports on reservations there because of an attorney general's opinion that reservations are "private" land.

THE MX MISSILE THREAT TO US ALL

The new MX missile pushed by the Carter administration (See article on Shoshones and MX missile this issue) is a rapid transit missile system which will cost $33 *billion!* Each of 200 missiles will carry 10 nuclear warheads. The 2000 warheads will have the capacity to destroy every major population concentration on the planet immediately, and virtually all human life on the planet as the result of fallout. Carter says it is the "last missile system of enormous destructive power that we will ever have to build." With enough fire power in the American nuclear arsenal already to kill every human on earth 14 times over, one wonders if he's trying to be funny.

THE PEOPLE'S CHOICE?

Martin E. Seneca, Jr., was appointed on October 16 as temporary acting deputy commissioner of Indian affairs. Seneca has drawn boo's the full length of his tenure in public affairs. The government's Indian all the way, he once headed up an Indians for President Nixon campaign, and he recently told the Lakota people that they won't get the Black Hills back even if they reject a proposed $105 million settlement for the land they consider sacred. He is a Mormon.

URUGUAY: LATIN AMERICA'S TORTURE CHAMBER

A U.S. ally in South America, Uruguay, holds the world record of political prisoners per capita – one in 500 citizens is being detained for political purposes. More then 257,000 families have been dismembered through imprisonment, exile, bombing and murders. One Uruguayan in 70 has been tortured. Uruguay has the highest military expenditure in Latin America – 55% of the national budget is allocated for "internal security." The youngest prisoner in the world, a twenty–day–old baby, was held by the Uruguayan government. Uruguay is the torture chamber of Latin America.

WINNEBAGO BATTLE POWER LINE

The Winnebago Tribe of Nebraska is appealing a federal court ruling which rejected a charge that the Army Corps of Engineers had violated the National Environmental Policy Act in issuing a permit to Iowa Public Service to build a 345 KV transmission line across the Missouri River. The Winnebago people are concerned that the line will have adverse effects on the Bald Eagle population, and have called for their members to support their resistance to construction of the line. The Nebraska Public Power District intends to build the line through the middle of the Winnebago reservation, and has instituted condemnation proceedings against two hundred Winnebago landowners in order to accomplish the construction.

DRILLING TO DISASTER

Deep sea drilling exploration of the Beaufort Sea continued this summer according to plan. There are at least 4 drillships and seven supply/icebreaking vessels involved in the project which has largely located natural gas deposits at depths up to 15,000 feet. Environmentalists have argued that if there is ever an oil disaster in the Beaufort, there is no technology to clean it up and the result could be that the weather systems of the entire northern hemisphere could be altered.

RADIOACTIVE LUNCH

Officials in Tucson were forced to close a citywide lunch program serving 40,000 children daily when the food was found to have been radioactively contaminated by an American Atomics Plant nearby. It is not known how long the radioactive food had gone undetected, or the extent of the damage. Maybe school children should take a geiger counter with them to lunch.

INDIAN LAND RETURNED

The English River Band of Indians has regained 9,605 acres of federal crown land adjacent to the La Plonge Indian Reserve in Saskatchewan. The land is the first to be returned under a 1977 Federal Provincial agreement involving all three prairie provinces. The agreement is to return around a million acres of land guaranteed to the bands under treaties. The English River band is entitled to an additional 44,145 acres of land, of which the 9,605 acres is a part.

GENOCIDE IN BRAZIL

In September, local governments in northern Brazil began protesting plans for a proposed park which would insure the survival of several groups of Indians and most particularly the Yanomamo. The reason for the protest sounds like a reenactment of the attacks on the Lakota people at the time of the invasion of the Black Hills. Three thousand miners are camped on the outskirts of the Indian country. Recently, the head of FUNAI submitted his resignation as a result of governmental duplicity in the treatment of Indians. A shady general who has spoken against the park appears to be lined up to be the new head of FUNAI. The Anthropology Resource Center of Cambridge, Mass. has organized a meeting in Washington, D.C. on November 14 to inform the American public of the plight of the Yanomamo people. At this hour, it looks like there will be no park and the genocide of Indian peoples in Brazil will continue. (See article on Yanomamo park in this issue.)

RACISM, PRISONS, VIOLENCE

Racism and acts of brutality directed at Indian inmates by prison guards is the subject of a raging controversy at Walla Walla State Penetentiary in Washington State. A guard has been killed during protests of this brutality and two Indian brothers, James and George Simmons have been charged with the killings. A support group has charged that guards have "taken over" the administration of the prison. State officials have suspended at least two dozen guards in response to the growing protests both inside and outside the prison.

by R.DIGGS
DUE TO THE SPREAD OF SUCH DANGEROUS CHEMICALS AS DIOXIN
OUR DATA SHOWS WE WILL POISON EVERYTHING IN JUST 10 YEARS!
BUT DON'T PANIC FOLKS, THERE IS STILL SOME QUESTION ABOUT THE ACCURACY OF OUR DATA-
—IT MIGHT HAVE BEEN 10 YEARS AGO!

Peltier On Trial Again

Leonard Peltier, American Indian Movement activist serving two consecutive life sentences for the alleged killing of two F.B.I. agents on the Pine Ridge Reservation in June of 1975, is scheduled to go to trial once again this November 14th.

Peltier is to be tried on charges stemming from his recent escape attempt this past July.

Roque Duanas and Boby Gene Garcia are also to be tried on similar charges.

The trial, which is to be held at the U.S. District Court for Central California is open to the public and supporters and interested parties are encouraged to attend. Judge Lydick will be presiding.

A recent development which is likely to be one of the major focuses of the trial is the disclosure, in the form of a sworn affidavit, of a possible corroboration between federal agents and prison officials to have Peltier "neutralized".

"I asked the stranger who he represented and what he meant by 'neutralizing Leonard Peltier'," writes Robert Hugh Wilson, an Indian inmate at Leavenworth Prison in Kansas. "He (the stranger) replied that he was a person who had the power to do what he promised."

In a long affidavit, Wilson goes on to detail his various meetings with the "stranger", whom he supposed to be a FBI or CIA agent. He names a Chief Correctional Officer, R.M. Carey, as the conduit man.

Wilson accuses Carey of withholding medical treatment for an acute back condition until he agreed to cooperate. The "stranger", he states, claimed to be capable of having previous charges against him dropped, to offer protection, and to have him killed.

The affidavit of Robert Hugh Wilson reads in part:

"...The stranger said, 'I have the power to end your miserable life if you go to Oklahoma City for trial. I can assure you that you will not return from that trip. I also have the power to have all seven charges dismissed, and get you paroled out of the federal system. Obviously, you don't believe I have that power. So, if I have the charges in Oklahoma dismissed WILL YOU COOPERATE? I said if I could have immediate medical treatment, a promise of parole from the federal system and the seven indictments in Oklahoma dropped before I cooperated, I promised to kill Leonard Peltier in front of the control center on any day he designated. Mr. Carey and the stranger both laughed. Mr. Carey turned to the stranger and said, 'It looks like I wasn't wrong when I told you he's your boy.' The stranger told me that the first thing they had to do was get me to establish the utmost trust between myself and Peltier. He said the quicker we could get my back well the quicker I could get back into population and go to work. He suggested I use my talent for writing administrative remedies to represent the Indians in getting a culture group started. This would help build the strong bond necessary for the next step. He instructed me to tell Leonard that I had access to several home made zip guns. He said he would furnish three such weapons which would appear to be in operating condition, but they would actually be inoperable. He said they could not be tested in the prison, and they would be kept 'hidden' until shortly before the time of the 'escape'. He told me to urge Leonard Peltier to escape by playing on his patriotic feelings. He said I would be furnished with wire cutters capable of cutting through the fence and concertina wire, hacksaw blades, material for making dummies and anything within reason in order to get Leonard Peltier out to the fence preferably at night. He said that I would not be expected to take part in the 'escape' because of my age and bad back. He said that once I lured Leonard Peltier out to the fence he would be taken care of. I told the stranger that I would rather just kill Leonard Peltier than to go through all that deceit and treachery. The stranger replied, "That is exactly what you'll have to do if this plan doesn't work. Don't even think of playing us for fools because, at this point, it's Peltier's life or yours. We don't accept backing out or betrayals. You are now committed to this with your life. If you betray us you will die. If you perform honorably you will be rewarded even more than our agreement. If you tell about this conversation it will be our word against yours and you won't be believed. When you have things in hand and it is imperative that you see Carey, submit a sealed letter requesting an interview regarding a personal problem. Never mention *anything* in the interview request. Take your time. Don't try to move too fast, and don't hold any serious conversations with Peltier about escaping until you are certain you have his trust.' Mr. Carey and the stranger left my room.

On November 9, 1978, at approximately 2:00 p.m., I was leaving the office of Supervisor of Education, R.L. Williams, when the stranger who was with Mr. Carey on May 17, 1978, called me into a classroom. He was alone. He appeared to be angry. He wanted to know what I was doing to keep my end of the agreement. I told him that I had been vigorously representing Leonard Peltier and the other Indians in trying to win religious freedom in Marion prison; that I was certain that I enjoyed Leonard Peltier's complete trust; that I had been preaching escape as the patriotic duty of a warrior; that Leonard wasn't interested in any zip guns; that it would soon be early winter with dense foggy mornings making escape more feasible; and, finally, that these things take time, and he, himself, had said that I should not rush things. He replied that they were just about out of time and so was I. He told me that they had come to a decision that Marion has so much security that planning a successful escape was just about impossible, therefore, unless I had firm plans to neutralize Peltier they intended to move both me and Peltier to a less secure prison in California where an escape attempt would be hard to resist. He said I would be going to Leavenworth in December. Leonard would go to USP Lompoc about 60 days after I got to Leavenworth. I would not go to Lompoc until they had another Indian situated in Lompoc who would help me to neutralize Peltier. He said the Indian I would meet in Lompoc enjoyed their complete trust, and he would also be watching me to be sure I performed. He said he did not know how long I would have to be in Leavenworth, but he wanted to hold me there until both Leonard Peltier and the assassin were in Lompoc. He said he wanted me to stay in segregation at Leavenworth until it was time to transfer me to Lompoc. I said I did not want to put myself in a position where I would be kept in the hole for a long period of time. He promised that if I was going to have to be in Leavenworth more than thirty days, I would be released to population with a soft job and a lot of 'benefits' to compensate for a delay in transporting me to Pompoc. He said for me to stay in segregation until an associate warden or above told me to come out. I asked why I couldn't just go ahead to Lompoc. He replied that he wanted me on ice for a while so that Leonard Peltier would welcome me with open arms when I got to Lompoc. He said he further did not want me at Lompoc until the other Indian got himself established. I agreed to go along with him once again."

According to Peltier Attorney Bruce Ellison, Robert Hugh Wilson has further declared that he informed Peltier about the assassination attempt. It was decided by the two men to work together and try to safeguard Peltier's life.

"Wilson has stated that they did this in order to be able to monitor the threat, to keep one step ahead of the 'stranger's' plan for a set-up," said Ellison.

"There is,too, the question of the strong similarity in appearance of the 'stranger' to a notorious F.B.I. agent out here, the same one we think killed Anna Mae Aquash," he stated.

Children's Page

FOOD AND NUTRITION – TRADITIONAL WAY

ARE YOU IN TOUCH WITH THE NATURAL WORLD THAT IS ALL AROUND YOU? DO YOU KNOW WHAT THE NATURAL WORLD IS ALL ABOUT?

THIS CHILDREN'S PAGE, WHICH IS WRITTEN ESPECIALLY FOR YOU, WILL BE DISCUSSING THE NATURAL WORLD AND THE LAWS OF NATURE. WE WILL TALK ABOUT YOUR HEALTH AND THE WAY OUR ANCESTORS KEPT HEALTHY.

Our ancestor knew the Natural World very, very well, before the Europeans came here.

The Natural World includes all the elements in the Creation, the plant life, trees, water, animals, birds, stars, sky, sun, moon, wind and human life.

Our ancestors knew how to identify, gather, preserve and use the many plants that grow on our Mother Earth. The Creator put these plants here for us to use. They used the plant life for food and medicine. Because they knew how to use each plant and when to gather it and how to prepare it they were extremely healthy peoples. Being healthy keeps people from having diseases, this was true of our ancestors. People in Europe had many diseases that were unheard of in our country.

Our diet was made up of game, fish, berries, nuts, plants and foods that we grew, all of which gave us a diet full of protein, Vitamins A and C and our diet was low in fat. The foods we ate that we grew include corn, beans, squash, pumpkin, cucumbers, peppers, etc.

. Other foods that were gathered from Nature include: onions, rosehips, strawberries, blueberries, currants, asparagus, artichokes, garlic, blackberries, raspberries, sunflowers, cranberries, wild rice and nuts. Many of these foods have been adopted and are eaten around the world today.

You may ask, "Why did they use these foods, how did they know what was healthy for them to eat?" The answers are that our ancestors knew the Natural World so well that they understood how nature works and grows food. You could say they were scientists in the Natural World, that they knew their subject from much study. Another very important answer to these questions is that our ancestors knew nature's laws and lived by the laws of the natural world. They did not change nature or interfere with nature. They knew that nature knew what it was doing.

Lets look at an example of what happens when man interferes with Nature:

Where we live in the Adirondack Mountains there are many black flies which are a nuisance to tourists. It was decided by the State or the Department of Natural Resources to spray the woods with chemicals to kill the black flies so they wouldn't bother tourists.

What happened is that the chemical spray not only killed the black flies, but it killed other insects also. The fish needed to eat the insects to live but since there were no insects the fish died. The bears eat the fish in our streams, but since there are no fish the bears are hungry. So you see that if one part of Nature is messed up from man's ignorance then it upsets all of Nature.

We chose this topic of the natural World and our diet, the food we eat, because in today's "modern" world what we eat is very removed from the food that our ancestors ate to keep healthy.

I am sure that somewhere you have read about Indian people and our health. We have the worst health in this country. Now, let's talk about the reasons for this sad report on Indian health.

Before the Europeans came here, it was well–known that Native peoples in our part of the world had the best health possible. We had very few diseases and if one of us were wounded we could heal very quickly. What happened to all of that good health?

THIS IS THE FIRST TIME *AKWESASNE NOTES* HAS PUBLISHED A CHILDREN'S PAGE. PLEASE WRITE TO US AND LET US KNOW WHAT YOU THINK ABOUT IT. IT WOULD BE GREAT TO HAVE STORIES OR DRAWINGS FROM YOU. WRITE TO US AT: CHILDRENS'S PAGE, AKWESASNE NOTES, MOHAWK NATION, via ROOSEVELTOWN, N.Y. 13683

Our health became a sad subject after we started to eat what the Europeans eat. They had a diet of refined breads, dairy products and animals they raised.

Refined or processed food means that the food is put through factories and machines that take out all of the naturally healthy things we need such as, vitamins, minerals, protein,etc.

Today we eat large amounts of refined white flour, white sugar and nearly every bit of food that you bring home from the grocery store is full of chemicals. These chemicals are foreign to our body, our bodies have no way of digesting or using artificial chemicals. This is why we are so unhealthy today. The soda or cola drinks that we have such a habit of drinking are pure chemicals and refined white sugar.

How can we as Native Peoples be healthy when we eat so many chemicals and so much food that has the healthy part of it removed by processing?

CHILDRENS PAGE BOOK REVIEW

The Lizard's Tale
by Helayne Abrams and Chris Carson
written in both English and Spanish.

This short, nineteen page, story tells of the destruction being caused to human beings and animals in the Natural World when uranium mining invades and tears up the environment. *The Lizard's Tale* begins with two very sad children telling of their father, who had worked in the uranium mine and who had died from lung cancer.

The author goes on to show us how uranium mining disturbs the ecology, the natural balance, of the desert area. This applies to all areas where uranium mines are built.

The illustrations are striking or eye–catching in their clearness. It is important to notice that the drawings show the uranium mines and earth moving machines as the actual monsters which destroy the natural balance or ecosystem.

The Lizard's Tale is highly recommended for all ages. It is written at a intermediate reading level.

During the story the children and all the animals meet to discuss this monsterous thing that human beings are doing to the Earth.

Publisher: Kissing Bears Collective, Moontree Press, Inc., Albuquerque, N.M., 1979

A PROJECT FOR YOU

DRYING APPLES is a project that you can do in your home. You'll need your parents help to find good tasting apples. It's best if the apples come from a local apple orchard, or from local people because chances are better that the apples won't have chemicals sprayed on them.

Bring your apples home, wash them, peel them (eat the peelings - they are full of good healthy things for your body) core the apples and cut them into thin slices. (about 1/4 to 1/2 inch thick)

Now, if you are lucky and live where there is a woodstove you can string the apples on heavy cord and hang them up behind the woodstove to dry.

If you don't have a woodstove you can dry the apples by spreading them in a single layer on a cookie sheet in a low oven about 150 degrees.

Or, you might have a electric food dryer to use.

It will take some time for the apples to dry. It may take several days behind the woodstove and from 12 to 24 hours in the oven.

DO NOT ADD ANY CHEMICALS OR ARTIFICIAL COLORING TO YOUR APPLES.

DRYING APPLES this NATURAL WAY has been done for a long, long time. Our people still dry many kinds of berries, blueberries, blackberries, etc. this way.

When its cold outside, just soak your apples in water and they'll become fresh and just as tasty as before, or you can eat them dried as a snack. Dried apples are a healthy snack for you which is so much better than candy or soda pop.

Also, you might look at how much a small bag of dried apples cost at the supermarket and you will see that dried apples are very costly.

VOICES FROM THE CHILDREN

The following statements were written by Mohawk students at the school inside of the camp (called Fort Kanasasaraken) at Akwesasne. We asked the children, "Why are you and your family involved in the struggle of the Mohawk Nation?"

WE LIVE AT FORT KANASASARAKEN TO FIGHT FOR OUR CHIEFS AND PEOPLE SO WE CAN GO TO THE LONGHOUSE. IT IS NOT GOOD AT RESERVES. WE WANT OUR LAND FOR A HOME, NOT A CITY! WHEN CAN I HAVE A HOME?

by Kanaie

WE ARE AT FORT KANASASARAKEN BECAUSE WE AREN'T LIVING BY THE WHITE MAN'S LAW. SO NOW WE ARE GOING TO SCHOOL AT FORT KANASASARAKEN TO LEARN OUR WAY AND LANGUAGE, AND GOING BY THE INDIAN LAW.

by Kakwirotom

AKWESASNE SCHOOL

The school which the children are talking about in "VOICES FROM THE CHILDREN" needs help. The People of the Mohawk Nation are doing their best to build a school building for the children so they can be indoors before it gets bitter cold. They need donations so they can finish the building and get school supplies. Any help will be very much appreciated and donations will be put to good use for the children. Send donations to: Education Project, Mohawk Sovereignty Committee, P.O. Box 288, Rooseveltown, N.Y. 13683

The Navajo Nation:

LIVING AND BREATHING RADIOACTIVITY

by TOM BARRY

Henry Black is fighting for his life in an Arizona Indian Hospital on the Navajo Reservation. Government doctors recently told the 45 year old Navajo he had an aggressive case of lung cancer too advanced for surgical removal.

Working in uranium mines gave Black his lung cancer -- a disease that until the last ten years was almost unheard of among Navajos. But now the latency period for radioactivity-induced lung cancer is beginning to catch up with hundreds of Navajos who once were uranium miners. At least 25 Navajo men have already died from the disease, while uncounted others suffer from various other mining-related lung problems. Black is now undergoing painful chemotherapy in a desperate gamble to save his life.

Henry Black first began mining uranium in 1953. Along with about 100 other Navajos, he hired on at the Vanadium Corporation of America (VCA) uranium mine and mill in Monument Valley.

On the south side of the Utah Arizona border, Monument Valley – part of it a national park -- spreads across a dry, stark, almost solemn expanse of the Navajo Reservation. Vermillion mesas have been whittled into strange and awesome shapes that loom into the sharp blue sky.

Lost back among the buttes is the old VCA mine and a small Navajo community called Cane Valley.

The mine and mill shut down in 1968, but the Navajos in the area are still feeling the impact of the uranium development there.

No Navajos in Cane Valley took part in the decision to lease their land to the uranium companies involved in the national defense effort. That decision was made over 200 miles away by the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) in the tribal capital of Window Rock, Arizona.

Not only did the uranium development expose the Indian miners in Cane Valley to deadly doses of radioactivity, but the mining company left behind a radioactive mess that still contaminates the community. The hazards remain in the form of a 55 foot high 20 acre wide uranium tailings pile. Radioactive sand and radon gas blow off the pile onto the nearby Navajo homes -- homes that were constructed with the tailings as mix for cement.

A study by the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) in 1975 reported that Navajos in this isolated area have used the radioactive wastes "in concrete floors, exterior stucco, mortar for stone footings, cement floor patches, and inside as cement plaster."

"The reason for the use is that the residents have unrestricted access to the white sands of the tailings piles," said the EPA survey.

Sixteen of the 37 dwellings in Cane Valley have above-background readings of gamma radiation and radon gas.

The people of Monument Valley say that VCA drastically changed their lives. Today, they live without running water or electricity with their homes and bodies scarred by their brief encounter with the Atomic Age.

"The company never warned us about the radioactivity danger," says Tony Yazzie, who lives about 700 feet from that pile. "On windy days, we make sure to keep our doors and windows shut to keep the radioactivity out of our home."

Yazzie, who worked at the mine and used tailings for his water well and an addition to his home, says he now tries to keep his livestock and children away from the sandy dump.

LIFE WOULD HAVE BEEN DIFFERENT

Fifteen years ago, a mining accident put Ned Yazzie permanently in a wheel chair. In a gesture of sympathy, VCA allowed fellow workers to use a company truck to haul tailings to the handicapped Yazzie's land to help build him a new home.

Ned Yazzie is now only too aware of the bitter irony of his fate. "The walls, the floor, my whole house is radioactive," says Yazzie, whose house has the highest radioactive count in Cane Valley, according to the EPA.

"I wish VCA never came here," Yazzie says bitterly, "cause my life would've been much different."

Henry Black remembers that men were always getting hurt at the mine because "the company didn't have much concern about our safety. At that time, the government didn't have any inspectors to come around and look at the mines."

"All the laborers were Navajos," recalls Black from his hospital room. "The white people who worked there were the bosses. They never cared about us Navajos: all they cared about was getting the ore out and making money from the reservation."

According to Black and the other Navajo miners, there wasn't any ventilation in the mines to carry off the radon gas. "We had to work in all that smoke and uranium dust. A lot of men who worked in that mine have gotten sick or died," Black says.

Dr. Vall-Spinoza, formerly of the Indian Health Service, stated that there's no doubt of the relationship between uranium mine radioactivity exposure and the deaths of former Navajo uranium miners. "Exposure was so intense in those early uranium mines that it's almost hard to conceive of it. It was like lying under an x-ray machine day and night for six months."

Despite the knowledge that work in the early, unventilated mines caused cancer and that as many as seven hundred Navajos worked in those mines, the Indian Health Service has never initiated any special screening or preventive care program for Indian uranium miners. In Red Rock, Arizona -- the Navajo community most impacted by the incidence of uranium lung cancer -- former miners protest that IHS has no outreach program and has given no special attention to their plight.

The recent case of Henry Black put the IHS clinic nearest Cane Valley (in Kayenta, AZ), that many other former miners in the district may also have radioactivity-induced lung problems. Doctors there are discussing a preventive care program for uranium miners but expansion at the clinic seems an unlikely possibility.

Dr. Doug Peter, Director of the Kayenta IHS clinic blames the lack of funding and a staff shortage for the absence of an outreach program for former miners. "We know we aren't doing the job we should be doing, but we are doing all we can. We only have three doctors, and sometimes we get as many as 250 patients a day at the clinic."

Juanita Jackson is another Navajo who has seen the double-edged danger of uranium development. Jackson and her family now live in Mexican Hat, Utah, only 20 miles away from Cane Valley. She moved there a few months ago to make it easier for her children to attend school. Four of her children and she now live in the old company housing built by the Texas-Zinc Minerals Corporation, which once operated a uranium mill there. The school her children now attend is about a quarter of a mile from the company's wind and water eroded tailings pile.

"My husband Frank Jackson worked for many years at VCA," the widow says. "He died in a Gallup hospital coughing up blood and not being able to breathe. It was a problem he got in his lungs from working with uranium."

With her children helping with the English translation, Jackson expressed a lack of information about Workmen's Compensation laws and her difficulty in making ends meet on the $250 Social Security that came monthly. "The company didn't give us any money," she says.

When Frank Jackson died, his widow was left with nine children to care for. One of these boys sitting around their mother recalls, "I was young then, but it seemed that my father lived in the hospital."

These children represent a generation of Navajo youngsters who are knowledgeable about energy development. "The company left big holes in the ground that you could fall into and never get out. It's a mess up there where the company was," reports Jackson's son.

The VCA mine and mill in Monument Valley is just one of four large messes left by uranium companies on the Navajo Reservation. According to the Navajo Environmental Protection Commission, 56 million tons of radioactive wastes cover 1,000 acres of Navajo land.

In a 1975 letter to the Energy Research and Development Administration in Washington DC, Navajo Tribal Chairperson, Peter MacDonald, commented on the abandonment of these tailings piles: "We are puzzled at the apparent reluctant progress of the Federal government in resolving the problems associated with these millsites. Their continued presence imposes a burden on the Navajo Nation that we should not be obligated to bear, especially, since Tribal resources were utilized in the development of national security needs accruing to all Americans."

According to the EPA, the main hazards that the tailings piles presents are: inhalation of radon gas; external whole-body gamma radiation exposure; inhalation and ingestion of windblown tailings; and the ingestion of ground and surface water contaminated with radioactive elements.

NAVAJO CONT'D NEXT PAGE

Widows of Navajo Miners

NAVAJO CONTINUED

Ford, Bacon, and Davis Utah Inc., in a report commissioned by the Department of Energy concluded that the "radon gas release from the tailing constitutes the most significant environmental impact" of the Cane Valley site. The study estimated that the government would need about $1,116,000 to stabilize the tailings pile.

Joe Hans of EPA's Radiation Programs office in Las Vegas said that the tailings pile at Cane Valley should be stabilized and that at least several of the homes built from the radioactive wastes should be cleaned up or the families relocated. "The problem is the lack of funds to do the work," he explained.

The isolation of Cane Valley, its lack of generating power, and the EPA's lack of funds have all obstructed further surveying of the Cane Valley homes. As it stands now, residents near the old mine site are living in what what the EPA calls "grey area" where remedial action may be suggested.

The EPA however is now considering lowering its standards to a smaller level of radiation - a change that along with a better survey would likely put the residents of Cane Valley into the official danger zone of radiation exposure.

"The government is now lowering the former levels," said Hans. "The trend is what was good for yesterday won't be good tomorrow."

Aside from tailings problems, Hans expressed concern that the abandoned uranium mine also presented a safety and environmental hazard to humans and livestock in the valley. Like the other early uranium mines on the reservation, the old VCA mine is still open. The EPA says it hasn't had the funds to assess this hazard, altho Hans readily admits the abandoned mine pose an ever present danger.

A MATTER OF DOLLARS

Harold Tso, Director of the Navajo Environmental Protection Commission, is in the awkward position of being aware of lingering health hazards in Cane Valley, but not having a ready solution.

"At this point, it's a matter of dollars," said Tso. "The Tribe doesn't have the money to clean up the site."

Tso is hopeful that the recently passed Residual Radioactive Materials Act will provide funds to decontaminate Cane Valley and the three other mill sites on the reservation.

"It will cost $6 to $14 million to remove the tailings and do a good job of cleaning the sites up," said Tso. "But we're looking at 1½ to 2½ years before something gets cracking on it."

Until the government does "get cracking" and comes to clean up the radioactive mess left in Cane Valley by VCA, the Navajo people of this remote valley have to accept the risk of radioactive exposure.

One Navajo who lives in a house constructed of tailings laments, "I would like to move out of this house, but I have no place else to go."

Henry Black says he is just beginning to find out about the dangers of radioactivity. "Now I just want to get well so I can leave this BIA hospital and go back to herding sheep."

Henry Black, Tony Yazzie, Juanita Jackson, and Ned Yazzie have each come face to face with the hazards of the Atomic Age. Each is living a tragedy that even the mountain- carving winds of Monument Valley can't blow away.

BRIEF SYNOPSIS OF SITUATION AT DINE NATION—THE NAVAJO

1868 Treaty between Navajo and U S government, guaranteeing an area larger than the state of West Virginia.

1923 Navajo Tribal Council formed at the request of Standard Oil Company — who had found oil on the reservation and needed five men to sign a lease for the land. The BIA appointed these men as the Navajo Tribal Council.

Oil production on Navajo lands is on the increase, valuable land which used to be for sheep-herding is now producing oil. Government imposes sheep reduction programs, and encourages wage economy on reservation.

1949 Kerr McGee corporation discovers uranium deposit near Shiprock — Navajo Nation. Under contract with the AEC, KM talks to the BIA about uranium development. The nation is promised jobs and royalties from the resource, badly needed with unemployment over 50%. Tribal Council and BIA sign lease with KM "for as long as the ore is producing in payable quantities." Similar lease is signed by Laguna Pueblo with Anaconda.

1951 Kerr McGee operation — uranium mines (underground) and uranium milling operation begins. Several other companies open operations for uranium and vanadium (a steel alloy which is radioactive).

1950's Coal deposits on Navajo and Hopi reservations are leased by the BIA and the government imposed tribal councils. Peabody Coal (then owned by Kennecott Copper) picks up a lease, as does Utah International — now a subsidiary of General Electric.

The first large scale stripmining of coal in the United States begins — as does the planning for "isolated" coal fired power plants.

1960's More coal and uranium development, leases signed by the tribal councils, approved by the BIA. Provisions are the same as those with Kerr McGee corporation, and royalties are low, and not subject to change. People are relocated out of strip-mining areas into mobil home parks like Kayenta, and several centers at Windowrock, the Navajo capital.

1969 Kerr McGee pulls out of Shiprock, abandoning mine shafts and the uranium mill in the center, the major population center of the reservation.

1974 18 dead Navajo uranium miners, all died of radiation induced lung cancer from working at the KM mine. KM denies responsibility, AEC denies responsibility, BIA denies responsibility, Workmans Compensation refuses to help.

Four Corners Power plant is the only man made object seen by Gemini 12 astronauts from outer space, they see the pollution.

1975 Navajo royalties for resources resemble the average on Indian lands — 15¢ a ton for coal now valued at $20 a ton on the market. 60¢ a pound for uranium, now valued at $30 a pound on the market.

Hopis gain support in the national and international community for their struggle to protect Black Mesa, the Mother land of the area.

Mining of coal and uranium on the increase, as Navajo Tribal Chairman Peter Macdonald explains, "In one year, the Navajo nation exports enough energy resources to fuel the needs of the state of New Mexico for 32 years, the states of New Mexico and Arizona combined for 16 years."

The U. S. commission on Civil Rights reports that Navajo per capita income is one fourth the national average, infant mortality ten times the national average . . . calls the Navajo nation a "Colony".

1974 Navajo marches in Farmington, some 4000 people walk to the streets of what they call "the Selma, Alabama of the West."

1975 Navajo Tribal Council approves proposal for 40,000 acre coal stip mine, a joint venture of Continental Oil and El Paso Natural Gas. The people of the area, the Burnham Chapter are unanimously opposed to the proposal, however their vote is ignored. 13 people from the Chapter are arrested, ages 13-55, for a demonstration at the Navajo Tribal Council headquarters.

1978 Navajo delegation to the Longest Walk made up of mostly elders joins forces with the Iroquois and Lakota traditional leaders. 7 Navajo men are arrested for occupying the Navajo Tribal Council headquarters, charged with kidnapping, aiding and abetting kidnapping, assault with a deadly weapon, and aiding and abetting the assault with a deadly weapon. There was no kidnapping and no assault. Eventually the charges were dropped.

1979 Situation in the Navajo and adjoining area: 33 uranium mines, including the Anaconda-Arco mine at Laguna — the largest uranium strip mine in the world. 3 uranium mills, located at Grants NM, selfnamed "The uranium capital of the World," 3 coal strip mines, 4 coal fired power plants, 7 abandoned uranium and vanadium mill sites, with 6 coal gasification plants, 10 uranium mills, and 100 uranium mines promised by the BIA by the year 2000. The National Nuclear waste disposal site (WIPP) is also proposed for the area, to be located at Florencia, near Carlsbad, NM.

High voltage transmission lines are now being installed to run the electricity from the power plants to more mines. Railroad "spurs" are also on the line.

IMPACT: Gulf Oil sinks the deepest uranium mine shafts in the world into the side of Mt. Taylor — sacred to the Navajo and Pueblo people. Study by the EPA dated 1975 has found widespread water contamination in the Grants Mineral belt — over one half of which is on Indian land. Water near Gulf mine is now unsuitable for use.

Over 100 children born in the last five years at Laguna Pueblo have birth defects. In two months at the Shiprock Indian hospital, 50 children were born or brought in with birth defects.

Los Alamos Scientific Labs (located in the area) proposes to "zone the land into uranium mining and milling districts so as to forbid human habitation." (F, 1978).

U. S. Congress has settled "conflict" between navajo and Hopi — is now in the process of relocating 6000 Navajos from land north of Black Mesa. All are to be relocated by June of next year, water is being cut off, food (all commodities people) is being cut off slowly, fences, and bulldozers are coming in. On June 16, 1979, declaration comes from the "Big Mountain People" they say they will not move.

July 16, 1979 — 100 million gallons of radioactive mill tailings pond water spills near Grants — the tailings retain 85% of the original radioactivity of the uranium and the water has been "fermenting" the tailings for almost 20 years.

MX Missile Program vs. Shoshone Land Rights

The Western Shoshone people are doing everything within their power to press forward their claim to 27 million acres of land in California and Nevada which the U.S. government says they lost because of "encroachment by white settlers". It was recently revealed that negotiations had been in progress between the Western Shoshones and Interior Department officials which would have returned about half of the original land base to the Shoshones as a permanent "reservation", but earlier this year the Interior Department suddenly cut off these negotiations. The Western Shoshones have already rejected a proposed $27 million settlement by the Court of Claims, and on July 14, 1979, they voted to pursue their claim to the land. But now it appears that the U.S. government has plans to use Shoshone land as the site of the most ambitious military installation in U.S. history – the MX missile program.

In 1863, the U.S. government signed the Treaty of Ruby Valley with the Western Shoshone Nation. The Western Shoshones granted a right of way across their lands to California. They also allowed the construction of temporary settlements to support local mining activities. By 1872, 20,000 white settlers were illegally occupying and using the Western Shoshone's treaty lands. The government later concluded that the Western Shoshone's aboriginal title to their land was extinguished by the "gradual encroachment of white settlers."

The Western Shoshones raised the issues of their aboriginal land title to the U.S. Senate Indian Affairs Committee during a series of hearings in Nevada in 1932. Although the Committee did not take any action to investigate their claim, they referred a seemingly sympathetic attorney to help them. The attorney, Milton Badt, said that the only way to settle the title question was to sue the federal government for compensation. But since the federal government cannot be sued without its permission, then a special jurisdictional act must be passed by Congress. Mr. Badt then joined Ernest Wilkinson of the Wilkinson, Cragun & Barker law firm to loby for the passage of the Indian Claims Commission Act. Incidentally, the Wilkinson firm later represented the Western Shoshones in their claim against the government.

In 1946, the Indian Claims Commission was established to provide monetary compensation for the illegal taking of Indian land and resources. It expired on September 30, 1978. Its pending cases, including the Western Shoshone claim, were transferred to the Court of Claims. There are three major problems about the ICC Act and Court of Claims:

1. The ICC and Court of Claims cannot return lands to Indian people. It can only provide limited financial compensation. Indians who accept the compensation give up any other claims against the government, including certain treaty rights. For example, the Western Shoshones would lose their guaranteed rights to the land.

2. The compensation for the theft of Indian land and resources are largely inadequate. The value of the land is estimated at the time of taking. The Western Shoshones would receive $1.07 per acre or the value of the land in 1872.

3. The Indian claims attorneys usually receive 10 percent of the overall claim. The law firm of Wilkinson, Cragun and Barker hope to receive $2.7 million for their work in the Western Shoshone claim. They helped develop the ICC Act and its statutory limitations. They now have a vested financial interest to settle the land claim. However, the legal effect would be another loss of Indian land rights.

In 1951, the Western Shoshones filed a claim against the federal government under the Indian Claims Commission Act. In 1962, the Indian Claims Commission (ICC) determined the area of the claim to be 24 million acres. In 1972, the ICC determined the value of the land at the time of taking was $26 million.

A group of traditional Western Shoshones called the Western Shoshone Legal Defense & Education Association (WSLD&EA) intervened in the ICC proceedings in 1974. They moved to halt further proceedings and to file an amended claim. They charged that the claims attorneys for the Temoak Band of the Western Shoshones had colluded with the government to agree that the Western Shoshone aboriginal land title was extinguished. In 1975, the WSLD&EA's motion to intervene in the proceedings was denied by the ICC. The decision was appealed. In 1976, the Court of Claims denied the appeal. A further appeal was denied by the U.S. Supreme Court.

In November, 1976, the Temoak Band voted to fire Wilkinson, Cragun and Barker and to support the WSLD&EA's position. They then hired another attorney and filed a motion to halt the ICC proceedings and file an amended claim. They also filed a petition to the Secretary of the Interior to administratively determine their aboriginal title to the land. Their petition was rejected. In 1977, the motion to halt the proceedings was transferred to the Court of Claims because the life of the ICC was expiring. On June 1, 1979, the Court of Claims denied the Western Shoshone's appeal. However, they have since voted to file a petition to the U.S. Supreme Court. (It is expected that this appeal will also be denied, and that the Shoshones will have to go back to step one and file the entire proceeding anew – Ed.)

Federal & State Governments.

There is a dispute between the State of Nevada and the federal government over the ownership and control of public domain lands in Nevada. In 1976, Congress passed the Federal Land Policy and Management Act in an attempt to develop a comprehensive national program to manage public lands and resources in perpetuity. The federal government administers 87% of Nevada's land. On July 13, 1979, the State of Nevada passed a set of emergency regulations intended to assert jurisdiction over 49 million acres of federally administered land. This move is part of a regional state's rights movement to gain control over federal land, water, and minerals within their boundaries. Ten other Western states and various mining and grazing interests have endorsed Nevada's action.

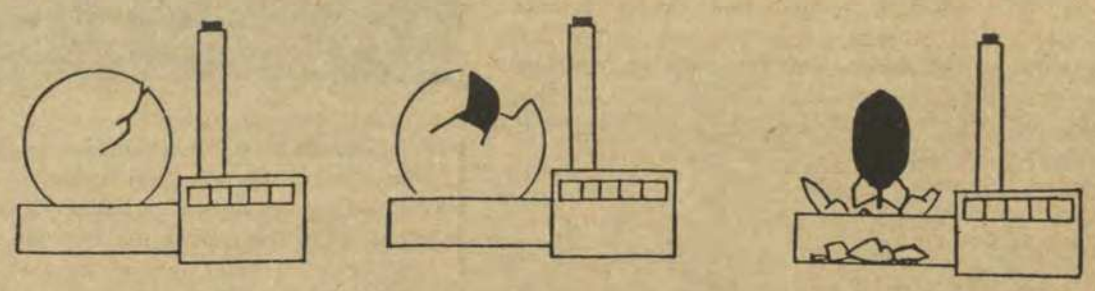
The major obstacle to these state and federal efforts is Indian land rights. The Western Shoshones still possess a superior legal claim to one–third of the state of Nevada under the Ruby Valley Treaty. Therefore, the issue of their aboriginal land title had to be faced.

The situation took a new turn this Spring, however. Secret high-level negotiations with Interior Department officials had been in progress which gave the appearance that about half of the Nevada lands might be returned to the Shoshones in settlement of the claim. Then, suddenly and without explanation, the Interior Department stopped all negotiations. The reason for this abrupt change in policy began to emerge this summer.

The MX missile system, the largest defense installation ever undertaken (said to be 2½ times the size of the Alaska pipeline) had been thrown out of Nebraska, and the Defense Department had stated that the Nevada-Utah area was the only place left for the missile system.

The MX system would require construction of 10,000 miles of paved roads in an extremely fragile ecosystem, and the proposed missile deployment area sits in the middle of the Shoshone claim. (Now we know why the Interior Department cut off talks.) The Pentagon's plans call for deployment of 65% of the 200 nuclear missile systems to be located in the area between Ely and Tonopah Nevada and will make the Western Shoshones a priority target in the event of a nuclear attack. It will also provide the military/industrial complex with a giant pork barrel project at the expense of the American taxpayers and the Shoshone Nation. The Shoshones see the MX missile system as a part of the SALT II agreement now under consideration. They are organizing with anti-nuclear groups to oppose the MX missile plans.

Speaking in Shoshone, Glenn Holley explained the complex MX missile system to more than 50 representatives of the Western Shoshone Nation who attended an October 7th meeting at Battle Mountain, Nevada. Holley, who is chairman of the Temoak Bands and the Battle Mountain Indian Colony, also pointed out that a large portion of the controversial missile system will be located on Shoshone lands.



The meeting was called by the Western Shoshone Sacred Land Association, formerly known as the Legal Defense and Education Association, and following a highly charged and emotional discussion, the Association voted unanimously to oppose the use of their lands for the proposed missile system. Members expressed anger at the state and federal governments for ignoring their title to the land and "assuming that the lands belong to the government."

"It is ironic that the U.S. Government is violating a treaty with one nation (Shoshone) to secure passage of a treaty with another nation (Russia)," said John Redhouse of the American Indian Environmental Council. Redhouse, referring to the Salt II Treaty currently pending in the U.S. Senate, has been conducting a research project on the Shoshone land claims as it relates to nuclear issues.

The Association expressed grave concern about the environmental damage the proposed missile system will do to their lands including the scarcity of water in the site area and the proposed influx of approximately 50,000 new people to the area. "The white man won't be satisfied until he destroys everything, the land, the water, animals, even the sky," voiced one angry member. Also contained in the Association's resolution was a request for assistance from all people and organizations concerned with the protection of the land and "enforcing our inherent rights to our lands according to our treaty."

In addition to the resolution the members agreed to post signs along the major highways and roads that would inform the travelling public that they are entering Shoshone lands and to respect Shoshone property rights. No date has been set for erecting the signs but it is expected that the signs will be posted in the immediate future.

On August 27th, the Temoak Bands filed in U.S. Federal District Court in Washington, D.C., a lawsuit seeking title to all lands as described in the 1863 Treaty

SHOSHONE CONT'D NEXT PAGE

SHOSHONE CONTINUED

except the now so–called privately owned lands. Three days later they filed a petition seeking a writ of certiorari from the U.S. Supreme Court to reverse a Court of Claims decision that refused a stay in all claims proceedings while the Temoak Bands sought to regain some of their lands. This petition was filed after the negotiations were halted by the Interior Secretary.

"But now we are witnessing the real reason why we are being forced to accept money for our lands. We don't want the money. We need to keep our lands," said Corbin Harney from Owyhee, referring to the land claims and the MX missile system. According to the Defense Department spokesman the MX would act as a "great sponge" of targets in the U.S. "to absorb" the Russian nuclear warheads and that the MX system is the "largest project ever undertaken in the history of mankind" and that it is the newest of the "new generation of nuclear weapons."

In a related matter, Harney also told the Association of plans to build a nuclear power plant complex several times larger than Three Mile Island on the Duck Valley Indian Reservation and the questionable visit by several government employees who "didn't tell us what they were doing except that they were checking the land. They probably think nobody will care about putting a nuclear power plant there because there's no one out there but the cojotes, jackrabits and a few Indians."

The nuclear fuel cycle will affect many Indian groups in the state of Nevada. There are plans to develop uranium on and near the Fort McDermitt and Walker River Indian reservations in northwestern Nevada. These will be the first active uranium projects in the state. Atmospheric and underground nuclear explosions at the Nevada Test Site is affecting the nearby Moapa reservation in southern Nevada. Six hundred non-Indians have already filed lawsuits against the government for damages from the radioactive fallout. However, there has been very little research into the effects on the Moapa people who live downwind from the test site. The Nevada Test Site and the nuclear waste disposal site near Beatty are also located on traditional Shoshone land.

There is an alternative proposal to operate a permanent national nuclear waste disposal site in Nevada. Nevada is one of three states in the country to "temporarily" store radioactive wastes. The transportation of nuclear wastes will affect several Indian tribes who live along the proposed routes. Indian people may soon suffer most of the impacts of nuclear development in Nevada.

(This article was adapted from two articles sent to us in a press release: "Shoshones Face New Military Threat", by Carole Wright, and "Western Shoshone Land Claims: a Travesty of Justice" by John Redhouse, Nevada Indian Environmental Research Project, 65) S. Rock Blvd., Suite 11, Reno, Nevada 89502)

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Olympic Spectacle, Prison Challenged

GROUPS ORGANIZE TO STOP THE OLYMPIC PRISON

Some seventy five miles from where the Mohawk Nation at Akwesasne is presently under seige, the State of NEW York is planning to host its biggest party in years – the 1980 Winter Olympic Games.

Lake Placid, a small town in the Northern Adirondacks previously known for its authentically rustic quality, is being prepared for the event.

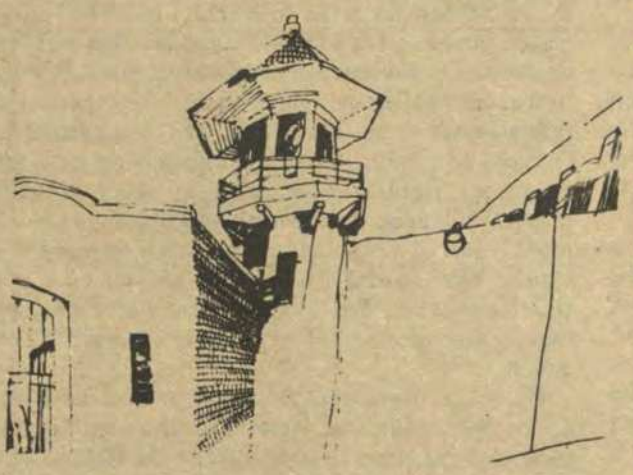
The Northern Adirondack Mountains in upstate New York are on Mohawk territory – a place where traditional Mohawks still hunt, fish, gather berries, and appreciate the gifts of Nature. The Mohawk Nation has never ceased to claim the mountains, though for decades now they have been under the control of a state–created agency call the Adirondack Park Agency.

Many non–Indian residents live now in the Adirondack Mountains – upstate New Yorkers, many of whom take pride in their willingness to endure harsh winters and long distances and high unemployment rates for the beauty and quiet of the area, one of the few places left in the United States where nearly half of the households still heat with wood.

These days, Lake Placid is bustling with the activity of new construction as it prepares to accommodate the several hundred thousand tourists that the Olympics will bring.

For the many people around the world who will be viewing them on their television sets, the spectacle of the Olympics may seem an exemplary exhultation of the value of health and physical fitness. For many of the local residents, and certainly for the Mohawk People, however, the Olympics has become an unexpectedly bitter pill to swallow.

On the morning of August 28, 1979, Mohawks encamped at Akwesasne woke up to find themselves under a virtual police attack. (See story on page 4.) The attack, it was later learned, was spearheaded by Special Weapons and Tactics S.W.A.T.) teams organized ostensibly to protect the Olympic Village from terrorism.



Local residents around Lake Placid have found themselves faced with myriad issues around the spectacle of the Olympics. Initially sold to them on the basis of the jobs such an event would produce locally, residents now find that the overwhelming majority of construction jobs have gone to out–of–state firms, who also hire outside help. There are many too, tenants, who have been and are still being ousted from their appartments and homes by greedy landlords, who in the Olympian boom madness can command $4,000 for an appartment previously renting for $250.00.

One of the reasons appartments and houses are going at such a high rate is that many of the Olympic delegations are refusing to stay inside the Olympic Village constructed for that purpose. The facilities are too poorly constructed, say many of the countries. A considerable number have spared no expense to rent, or even buy, other spaces. The athletes, says one member of the Italian Olympic Committee, "would feel as if they were in a prison – suffocating."

In fact, if New York State has its way, they would be staying in a prison.

This has been, by far, the greatest controversy surrounding the Olympics. In February, a group of 62 clergymen sharply criticized the idea of using Olympic funds to build a permanent prison there, calling upon interested groups to offer alternatives.

One group called the Mobilization for Local Sovereign Rights has called for the creation of an Appropriate Technology/Self–sufficiency Center at the facility, a component of which would help to independently monitor the threat presented to the region by the Acid Rains and other chemical and radioactive pollutants.

It is an interesting commentary on the nature of prisons that these structures will not be considered good enough for international athletes but certainly adequate for the doubtlessly high percentage of Blacks, Puerto Ricans and Indian inmates who will be locked up there.

An Appropriate Technology Center seems to be a good step in a more proper direction.

Akwesasne Notes Phone Tree

Most of our readers must by now be aware of the many grave situations now facing Indian Nations across North America.

We are living in a time when we are being forced to witness the final and most encompassing genocidal campaign ever waged against the right of Indian Peoples to their land, their history, their culture and their national sovereignty.

Real situations, real communities, real people, all across North America, Indian peoples are preparing themselves and are, in fact, in actual resistance to the various forces which would destroy them.

Recent events at Akwesasne (Mohawk Nation) have once again indicated the dangers which people must be prepared to face in order to protect their rights. On August 28th, 1979, a frontal police attack on a camp of traditional men, women and children was narrowly averted – an attack which would have undoubtedly resulted in severe losses of life.

It is our belief that this threatened armed assault here at Akwesasne was greatly impeded by the fact that many support groups and individual concerned citizens were willing to communicate their supportive positions to the various U.S. government agencies which were responsible for the final decision on this near attack.

AKWESASNE NOTES, being a major channel of communication for the Native Nations, is in a position to monitor such situations in the Indian Country.

We would like to offer our offices in an attempt to organize a largely word–of–mouth network into a efficient, rapid–response Emergency Phone Tree. A phone–tree which could be activated in cases of extreme danger to the various Native Peoples - the goal of which would be to make our collective concern be felt by the particular governmental bureaucracies holding (as it were) the gun in the unfortunately inevitable up–coming situations.

The organization of the Akwesasne Notes Phone Tree would be as follows:

Caller – a person volunteering to be a caller would be responsible for making one round of calls to the top several governmental officials, no more than five, in a particular pressing situation. This is for people who have limited time or access to a telephone.

Activator – a person volunteering to be an Activator would be responsible for activating five callers under his/her supervision. The 5 callers and their activator would be from within the same area code. The activator would also be responsible for keeping us up–to–date as to the five callers continuing participation.

Head Activator – a person volunteering to be a Head Activator would be responsible for activating ten activators and delivering, in a concise way, all the pertinent background information and names/phone numbers/addresses of officials to be contacted.

The Head Activators would be supplied the necessary initial information by Akwesasne Notes Staff.

Dynamo – a person volunteering to be a dynamo would need to be willing and able to, in an emergency situation, drop other work load and make repetitive rounds of calls.

A Dynamo would also be willing to act as an information conduit and to continually monitor a situation while it is occurring. In effect, the role would be one of a "peace–keeper." Obviously, this is for people with flexible schedules and substantial access to phone time.

People participating the Akwesasne Notes Emergency Phone Tree (ANEPT) would be listed by geographic regions. Organizations or groups which would like to make an effort such as this one collectively should contact Akwesasne Notes directly.

People from countries other than the U.S. are particularly encouraged to join this effort.

Persons belonging to our ANEPT will automatically be added to our mailing list

If you are interested in volunteering for ANEPT, please fill out and mail the coupon on this page. We will try to contact you by mail within four weeks.

[illegible] by colonization
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To reserve for the Indians only the area which udes their houses and immediate surroundings is to y them, in the short run, access to the large areas ch are needed for their hunting, fishing and gathering vities and to prevent them from continuing with ir periodic movements which are determined by the logical depletion of the areas and the consequent d to allow for the regeneration of their ironmental equilibrium (soil, fauna and flora.) The mentation of the Indian territory will lead to the d destruction of their traditional subsistence system. ated in ecologically depleted areas, the Indians will ome reduced to a situation of increasing penury and total economic dependence on the national society. [illegible] found (the delimitation of

immediately for, if brought into existence now, it would avoid conflicts over land with the regional population.

Finally there is yet another decisive argument in favor of the creation of the park, provided by the surveys of land use potential carried out by the RADAMBRASIL project (1975). The RADAMBRASIL data on the area are as follows:

– 33.5% of the lands of the proposed park are mountainous areas and for this reason declared to be of *permanent protection,* in accordance with the provision of the Forestry Code and therefore are not open to economic utilization.

– 40.5% of the lands of the proposed park are inadequate for agricultural or cattle raising projects due to their *very low* not significant quality. RADAM has recommended to the authorities that National Parks and Ecological Stations be created in these areas.

To sum up, approximately 75% of the area of the proposed park show excellent features as areas for environmental protection. Therefore, the area of the park presents conditions which are particularly suitable for the preservation of a region which is of outstanding ecological interest and also for the protection of one of

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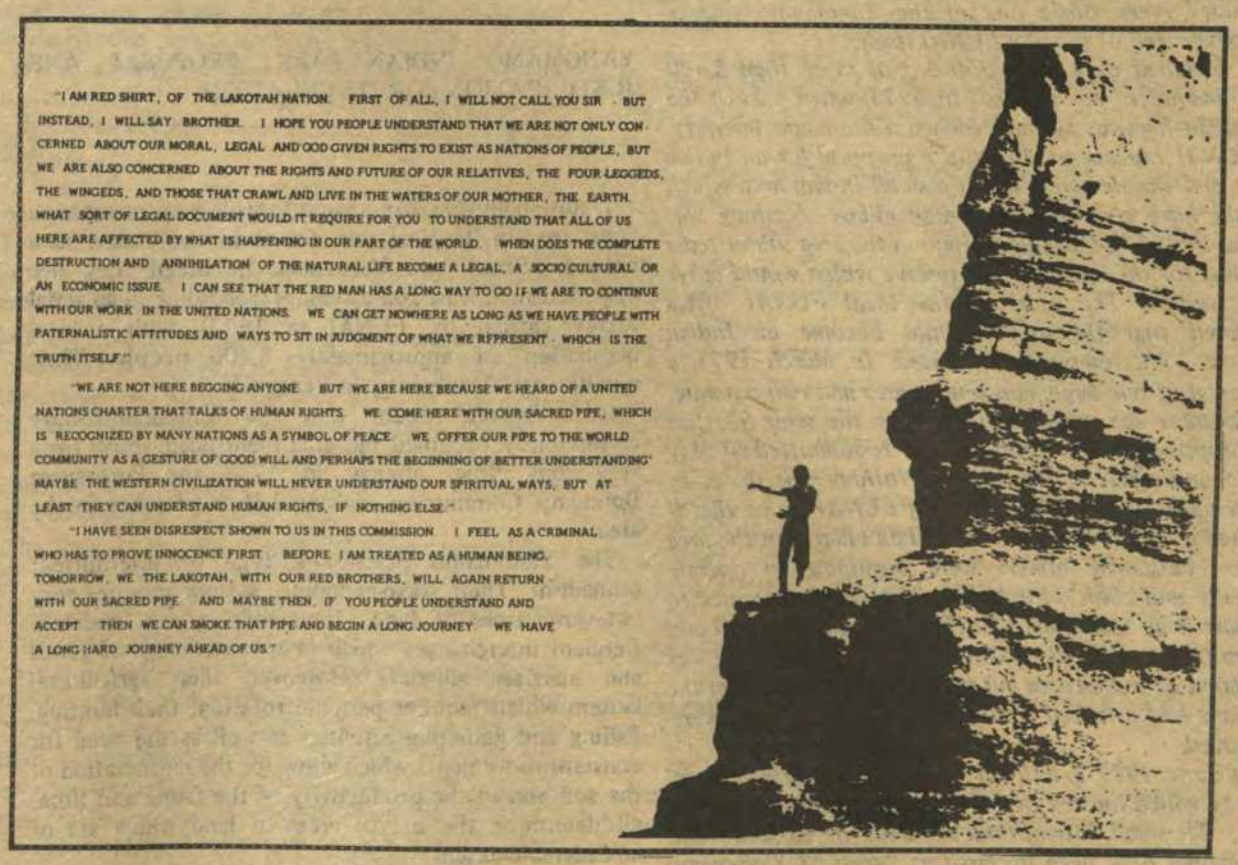
1980 Calendars, Datebooks Ready


"I AM RED SHIRT, OF THE LAKOTAH NATION. FIRST OF ALL, I WILL NOT CALL YOU SIR - BUT INSTEAD, I WILL SAY BROTHER. I HOPE YOU PEOPLE UNDERSTAND THAT WE ARE NOT ONLY CONCERNED ABOUT OUR MORAL, LEGAL AND GOD GIVEN RIGHTS TO EXIST AS NATIONS OF PEOPLE, BUT WE ARE ALSO CONCERNED ABOUT THE RIGHTS AND FUTURE OF OUR RELATIVES, THE FOUR-LEGGEDS, THE WINGEDS, AND THOSE THAT CRAWL AND LIVE IN THE WATERS OF OUR MOTHER, THE EARTH. WHAT SORT OF LEGAL DOCUMENT WOULD IT REQUIRE FOR YOU TO UNDERSTAND THAT ALL OF US HERE ARE AFFECTED BY WHAT IS HAPPENING IN OUR PART OF THE WORLD. WHEN DOES THE COMPLETE DESTRUCTION AND ANNIHILATION OF THE NATURAL LIFE BECOME A LEGAL, A SOCIO CULTURAL OR AN ECONOMIC ISSUE. I CAN SEE THAT THE RED MAN HAS A LONG WAY TO GO IF WE ARE TO CONTINUE WITH OUR WORK IN THE UNITED NATIONS. WE CAN GET NOWHERE AS LONG AS WE HAVE PEOPLE WITH PATERNALISTIC ATTITUDES AND WAYS TO SIT IN JUDGMENT OF WHAT WE REPRESENT - WHICH IS THE TRUTH ITSELF."
"WE ARE NOT HERE BEGGING ANYONE. BUT WE ARE HERE BECAUSE WE HEARD OF A UNITED NATIONS CHARTER THAT TALKS OF HUMAN RIGHTS. WE COME HERE WITH OUR SACRED PIPE, WHICH IS RECOGNIZED BY MANY NATIONS AS A SYMBOL OF PEACE. WE OFFER OUR PIPE TO THE WORLD COMMUNITY AS A GESTURE OF GOOD WILL AND PERHAPS THE BEGINNING OF BETTER UNDERSTANDING. MAYBE THE WESTERN CIVILIZATION WILL NEVER UNDERSTAND OUR SPIRITUAL WAYS, BUT AT LEAST THEY CAN UNDERSTAND HUMAN RIGHTS, IF NOTHING ELSE."
"I HAVE SEEN DISRESPECT SHOWN TO US IN THIS COMMISSION. I FEEL AS A CRIMINAL WHO HAS TO PROVE INNOCENCE FIRST - BEFORE I AM TREATED AS A HUMAN BEING. TOMORROW, WE THE LAKOTAH, WITH OUR RED BROTHERS, WILL AGAIN RETURN WITH OUR SACRED PIPE. AND MAYBE THEN, IF YOU PEOPLE UNDERSTAND AND ACCEPT - THEN WE CAN SMOKE THAT PIPE AND BEGIN A LONG JOURNEY. WE HAVE A LONG HARD JOURNEY AHEAD OF US."

We have been having a good year for production – so good in fact – that we are getting ahead of ourselves. During the first part of September we will have *two* calendars ready.

This year we are offering you our regular full size calendar AND a smaller personal date book. Both are dedicated to the past ten years of the Native struggle, andAKWESASNE NOTES.

Full size calendar – $3.00. Personal date book – $2.50 – If you order both the cost is – $5.00. Please call or write regarding wholesale information.

The large calendar is made up of a collection of the best *Akwesasne Notes* covers in the past ten years, with quotes from the oratory of our recent history.

Our pocket–size datebook turned out better than we had expected. The datebook features a calendar for each month with room to write reminders and it is full of illustrations from past issues along with thought provoking quotes.

BRAZIL URGED TO CREATE PARK FOR YANOMAMO

Boston, June 29, 1979 (Oxfam) – Two Boston Area agencies, Oxfam-America and the Anthropological Resource Center, today called for international support of a proposal to prevent the extermination of over 8,000 Yanomamo Indians in northwest Brazil.

The proposal, which involves the establishment of a 16 million acre park in the Amazon region, was developed by a special commission of Brazilian citizens and was

government employees who didn't tell us what they were doing except that they were checking the land. They probably think nobody will care about putting a nuclear power plant there because there's no one out there but the cojotes, jackrabits and a few Indians."

The nuclear fuel cycle will affect many Indian groups in the state of Nevada. There are plans to develop uranium on and near the Fort McDermitt and Walker River Indian reservations in northwestern Nevada. These will be the first active uranium projects in the state. Atmospheric and underground nuclear explosions at the Nevada Test Site is affecting the nearby Moapa reservation in southern Nevada. Six hundred non-Indians have already filed lawsuits against the government for damages from the radioactive fallout. However, there has been very little research into the effects on the Moapa people who live downwind from the test site. The Nevada Test Site and the nuclear waste disposal site near Beatty are also located on traditional Shoshone land.

There is an alternative proposal to operate a permanent national nuclear waste disposal site in Nevada. Nevada is one of three states in the country to "temporarily" store radioactive wastes. The transportation of nuclear wastes will affect several Indian tribes who live along the proposed routes. Indian people may soon suffer most of the impacts of nuclear development in Nevada.

• Major Contractors: Pentagon, Interspace, Catrimani, died following
Marietta, United Technologies, Northrop
• Land use: Parts of four western states, 300 covered trenches each 6 25 miles long
The Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT II) allows for the MX missile; in fact it virtually requires the MX as a U.S. "bargaining chip". SALT II institutionalizes the arms race; it's not even a small step towards reduction it's a step along the wrong path. The arms race will be ended only by unified, powerful, sustained actions on the part of all of us.
IF STOPPED THE B-1 BOMBER WE CAN STOP THE ARMS RACE
STOP THE MX MISSILE!

(This article was adapted from two articles sent to us in a press release: "Shoshones Face New Military Threat", by Carole Wright, and "Western Shoshone Land Claims:

Davis said.

Dr. Michael Scott, Oxfam-America's Director of Overseas Programs, explained that an 85-page document calling for the creation of the Yanomamo Park was released in Brazil yesterday.

"Simultaneous press conferences in support of the Yanomamo Park proposal," Scott said, "are being held in England and Europe in an effort to show the Brazilian

government that the fate of the Yanomamo is an international issue.

"International efforts by non-governmental organizations in the U.S. and Europe could mean the difference between whether the Yanomamo survive ro whether they, like so many other American Indian Nations, are destroyed."

(Dr. Shelton Davis is the author of *Victims of the Miracle: Development and the Indians of Brazil*, and has taught at the National Museum in Rio de Janeiro. Dr. Michael Scott worked ten years in Latin America and has made a film on modernization in the Amazon.)

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SURVIVAL INTERNATIONAL, London, April 4, 1979 – The Yanomamo Indians of southern Venezuela and the north of Brazil live in an area of tropical rain forest drained by the headwaters of the Orinoco and its tributaries and, in Brazil, by the tributaries of the rivers Branco and Negro. They are the largest relatively isolated group of Indians left in Brazil numbering over 8,400 in that country with a further 9,000 in Venezuela. Many of them have not had any contact with non-Indians.

The Yanomamo are now facing invasions into their territory on a number of fronts. Construction of the Perimetral Norte highway, which will eventually cut straight across Yanomamo territory for 600 kms, has already meant social and economic disorientation, begging, prostitution, disease and death for the Indians. Influenza and measles have swept the area. Twenty-eight percent of the Yanomamo of the Ajarani river valley were dead within a year of the road's arrival. Fifty

On March 1, 1969. It was lost. FUNAI itself prepared a proposal in 1972. The well-known Aborigines Protection Society Mission to the Indians of Brazil in 1972 found, however, that none of the people they met who were working for the Yanomamo knew of this scheme, nor did they know the boundaries of the proposed park. The APS team did eventually secure a FUNAI map which showed the park, "... it was immediately clear that its limits were hopelessly inadequate. Almost incredibly, it excludes every single one of the Yanomamo villages acknowledged to exist by FUNAI itself."

It included only some 350 out of more than 8,400 Yanomamo. It was shelved. In 1973, when part of the Brazilian highway system reached Yanomamo territory, a FUNAI bureaucrat drew up a proposal for an Indian Post and the demarcation of a small Indian area which would have covered one Indian village. Nothing was done. In 1974 a Catholic mission in the area submitted a request for the creation of a reserve which would cover two valleys. The head of the local FUNAI office declared that the area "would become an Indian reserve." No reserve was created. In March 1975, a proposal of one large, continuous area and two separate, small areas was made to FUNAI by the same Scottish anthropologist. This proposal was re-submitted in May 1975 and again in May 1976. Nothing was done. In November 1975, the President of FUNAI stated that if he had a map locating all the Indian villages in the area where cassiterite miners were beginning to operate illegally and clash with Indians, he would guarantee to declare it an Indian area. Such a map was prepared and submitted to FUNAI on January 14, 1976. No land was declared an Indian area but in September 1976, after the Indians had attacked a miners' camp, the miners were removed.

In June 1977 a FUNAI team carried out an aerial survey which located over 160 villages. On the results of this, 21 small, discontinuous areas in Roraima and Amazonas have been declared as "areas of Yanomamo Indian occupation" in a series of decrees by the President of FUNAI.

By fragmenting Yanomamo land into 21 small pockets of reserve land with open spaces (sometimes no more than 3 kms wide) between them, it can be asserted that far from providing some protection, the FUNAI proposal is setting up the Yanomamo for a maximum of contact, deculturation and disease. FUNAI knows this well. Some 2,000 Yanomamo – 24% of their total Brazilian population – will anyway find themselves completely outside of any of these pockets, 19 are far too small to be able to support the Indian population. The only two adequate pockets include a total of only 55 Indians. The survey FUNAI used to draw up their proposal is hopelessly inaccurate with some Indian villages shown up to 55 kms distant from their real location.

Rather than a sincere effort to protect these Indians, the proposal to create 21 areas of land for the Yanomamo would seem to be designed to provide for their extinction in the shortest possible time. It will leave them with insufficient land for even their basic subsistence requirements, with their faunal resources in danger of rapid extinction, their lands under constant threat of invasion and encroachment, their cultural integrity at risk from an exaggerated degree of exposure to the worst of Western frontier life, their health devastated by the onslaught of Western diseases.

Only international pressure to oppose FUNAI's proposals can stop this.

A group of anthropologists and other experts in Brazil has prepared an alternative proposal which honestly and genuinely takes into account the physical and cultural needs of the Yanomamo using the most up-to-date and first hand data. This counter-proposal concludes in the precise delimitation of an adequately sized Yanomamo Reserve. International pressure must lend its weight to this counter-proposal whilst opposing that of FUNAI. This is probably the only hope the Brazilian Yanomamo have for their survival.

YANOMAMO INDIAN PARK: PROPOSAL AND JUSTIFICATION FOR ITS CREATION

Traditionally the Yanomamo Indians have occupied a large area of tropical rain forest in the border area between Brazil and Venezuela. In Brazil they live dispersed in at least 203 dwellings (according to an aerial survey carried by FUNAI in 1977), with a total population of approximately 8,400 people. Their numbers are equally large in Venezuela.

It is beyond doubt that the Yanomamo have continuously occupied the area mentioned above for a very long time; already in 1787 the Portuguese Boundary Commission registered their presence in the area.

The Yanomamo practice a type of intermittent nomadism. Their socio-economic system requires very extensive areas of land. Their local groups maintain frequent interchanges which involve exchange of goods and marriage alliances. Moreover, their agricultural system which requires periodic rotation, their hunting, fishing and gathering activities as well as the need for constant movements which allow for the regeneration of the soil and of the productivity of the fauna and flora, all determine the use of areas of land which are of considerable extent.

YANOMAMO CONTINUED

The Yanomamo are one of the last large Indian groups in Brazil who still follow their traditional way of life. Since 1974, however, the customary participants in the "drama" of the Indians have been threatening directly the physical and cultural survival of the Yanomamo.

In chronological order we give the principal events in the brutal contact the Yanomamo have had with the white society at large:

1974 – The Perimetral Norte Highway (BR-210) cuts through 225 km of the southern part of Yanomamo territory in the Federal Territory of Roraima. Even disregarding other aspects which are not related to the health problems which are faced by the Indian population, the consequences of this penetration into their territory can be evaluated in the light of the following data:

– Along the first 100 km, 13 villages (malocas) are practically decimated as a result of the contact with the teams of the Carmago Correa construction company; these teams were mostly recruited without any systematic attempt to control their state of health. Today the Indian remnants are reduced to eight small family groups, hungry and ill, dispersed along the roadside;

– In the upper Catrimani region, near km 145, in the space of three years, two measles epidemics killed close to eighty Yanomamo. According to the missionaries who assisted them at the time, in the three years which followed the construction of the highway, cases of infectious diseases among the Indians increased by a factor of eight. There are also numerous cases of tuberculosis and venereal diseases.

1975/1976 – The publication of the geological survey by the RADAMBRASIL Projects starts a "rush" to exploit cassiterite (tin ore – Ed.) in the region of the Serra dos Surucucus in Roraima. More than 500 placer miners invaded Yanomamo territory, provoking a situation which became as serious as that which followed the construction of the BR-210.

To make the problem even worse, the presence of miners' camps in the region led to physical conflict between Indians and miners. The missionaries who worked in the area denounced the "murder of the Indians who insisted in remaining in the region of the mining site". These outbreaks of violence eventually led the federal authorities to intervene by ordering the mining activities in the Indian area to stop and the evacuation of the miners. At the same time, however, the authorities themselves had already foreseen the examination of request for research on the part of large companies interested in operating in the region.

1977 – The consequences of the first massive contact of the Yanomamo with the economic frontiers of the national society continue to be felt by the Yanomamo, particularly with regard to health However, with both the placer mining at Surucucu at an end and the construction of the Perimetral Norte temporarily at a halt, there was a relative respite in the problems faced by the Indians.

1978/1979 – The economic occupation of Yanomamo lands begins again at an accelerated pace.

–The National Institute of Colonization and Agrarian Reform begins the demarcation of two zones in the Federal Territory of Roraima (600,000 hectares). This project involves three regions (upper and lower Apiau and the area near kms 29 and 33 of the Perimetral Norte) which are known to belong to the Indians. A fourth region (near the Mucajai river) affects an area of about 800 hectares which has been declared by the National Indian Foundation itself as "of Yanomamo Indian occupation."

– The Vale do Rio Doce Mining Company establishes its first camp in the Serro dos Surucucus in Roraima in order to exploit the cassiterite deposits which were previously exploited by the placer miners.

It is not known whether the Company has made any agreement with the National Indian Foundation (FUNAI) to carry out the indispensable large-scale program of vaccination. To simply open up a medical center near the camp of the Mining Project as the only measure taken, would be disastrous. It is well known how easily epidemic diseases spread among Indian groups, due to their constant movements and to the traditional Yanomamo reaction of isolating themselves in inaccessible places when struck by epidemics. The situation is all the more serious as we know that the Surucucu region is precisely the area with the greatest concentration of Yanomamo population – 76 villages or about 3,800 Indians, most of them still isolated from contact. Effective health measures cannot, then, be postponed, if the progressive decimation of these Indians is to be prevented.

THE DELIMITATION OF THE YANOMAMO TERRITORY AS CARRIED BY THE NATIONAL INDIAN FOUNDATION

In the face of the accelerated invasion of the Yanomamo territory, FUNAI issued four decrees (477/N 505/N, 512/N, and 513/N in 1977-1978, declaring of "Yanomamo Indian occupation" several areas in the Federal Territory of Roraima and in the State of Amazonas. FUNAI's initiative, however, resulted in the administrative delimitation of 21 Indian areas which are minute and discontinuous, which circumscribe groupings of villages, leaving between them open corridors which, it is obvious, will facilitate the surrounding of the Yanomamo areas by colonization fronts and subsequent encroachment of the Indian areas by white settlers, therefore multiplying the possibilities of conflict and creating a situation which the authorities will find difficult to control.

The scheme for delimiting discontinuous parcels of the Yanomamo territory is not only harmful in that it facilitates the usurping of Indian lands, but is also inviable for three fundamental reasons:

– To reserve for the Indians only the area which includes their houses and immediate surroundings is to deny them, in the short run, access to the large areas which are needed for their hunting, fishing and gathering activities and to prevent them from continuing with their periodic movements which are determined by the ecological depletion of the areas and the consequent need to allow for the regeneration of their environmental equilibrium (soil, fauna and flora.) The fragmentation of the Indian territory will lead to the rapid destruction of their traditional subsistence system. Isolated in ecologically depleted areas, the Indians will become reduced to a situation of increasing penury and of total economic dependence on the national society. *The solution that FUNAI has found (the delimitation of* 21 discontinuous areas) disrespects the provision of the Indian Statute (Article 23) which states that "possession by the Indian is held to mean effective occupation of the land he holds in accordance with tribal usages, customs and traditions and on which he lives or exercises an activity indispensable to subsistence or economically useful."

– To establish discontinuous areas, isolated by open corridors is to jeopardize, if not prevent, the economic, ceremonial and marriage exchanges which are essential to the maintenance of the social dynamics of inter-village relations and those between sets of villages, a fundamental feature of the cohesion of Yanomamo society.

The Indian Statute itself (Article 2, VI) determines that "in the process of integrating the Indians into the national community, the cohesion of the Native communities and their cultural values, traditions, usages and customs" must be respected.

– To break up the Yanomamo territory, thus increasing the length of its borders, will multiply the points of contact with national society and, as a consequence, the risks of transmission of infectious diseases (measles, tuberculosis, influenza) which are lethal to these Indians. The dispersal of the Indian areas will also make it more difficult to establish an adequate program of medical assistance. To aggravate even more the health situation of the Yanomamo, the encroachment and ecological depletion of their lands will rapidly result in the Indians suffering chronic malnutrition and exaggerated parasitic infestation.

PROPOSAL FOR THE CREATION OF A YANOMAMO INDIAN PARK

Careful evaluation of the proposed delimitation of 21 Yanomamo areas has led us to consider as valid the alternative of creating a single Indian Park. This alternative has, in fact, been the subject of several other proposals since 1968. Such a park would guarantee to the Yanomamo the possession of the lands they actually occupy in the form of a large and continuous territory, in conformity with the terms of Article 23 of the Indian Statute.

The legal standing of an Indian Park is recommended not only because it implies the protection of the environment and is appropriate to the locations in international boundary areas (control of roads and movements in the area), but also, and moreover, because of the numerical importance of the Indian population and the urgent need for an assistance program. Such a park would allow the Yanomamo to begin the learning process of contact with the dominant society with reasonable autonomy and cohesion and without detriment to their socio–cultural structure.

The area of the proposed Park is 6.4 million hectares, which is a large area, but which is proportional to the ratio Yanomamo population/regional population. In the Federal Territory of Roraima, for example, where the larger part of the park would be located, the Yanomamo, who are more than 13% of the Territory's population, would occupy 18% of its area. This fact corroborates the convenience of creating the park immediately for, if brought into existence now, it would avoid conflicts over land with the regional population.

Finally there is yet another decisive argument in favor of the creation of the park, provided by the surveys of land use potential carried out by the RADAMBRASIL project (1975). The RADAMBRASIL data on the area are as follows:

– 33.5% of the lands of the proposed park are mountainous areas and for this reason declared to be of *permanent protection,* in accordance with the provision of the Forestry Code and therefore are not open to economic utilization.

– 40.5% of the lands of the proposed park are inadequate for agricultural or cattle raising projects due to their *very low* not significant quality. RADAM has recommended to the authorities that National Parks and Ecological Stations be created in these areas.

To sum up, approximately 75% of the area of the proposed park show excellent features as areas for environmental protection. Therefore, the area of the park presents conditions which are particularly suitable for the preservation of a region which is of outstanding ecological interest and also for the protection of one of the last great Indian nations in Brazil, without detriment to regional development.

The creation of a Yanomamo Indian Park, doubly suited as both Indian Park and ecological National Park, has much to be recommended. It would be a practical demonstration of Brazil's capacity to carry out a large-scale humanitarian endeavor, while having extremely favorable repercussions both nationally and internationally.

(This section was initially entitled "Yanomamo Indian Park: Proposal and Justification for It's Creation," prepared by Comissao pela criacao do Parque Yanomami, prepared by Bruce Albert and Carlo Zacquini, and coordinated by Claudia Andujar, April 4, 1979.)

IROQUOIS SILVER

SILVER ARROWHEAD PENDANT

This is a handcrafted sterling silver arrowhead pendant that comes with an 18" silver chain. $14.50.

a

b

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These hand-made sterling silver broaches come in three sizes and can be worn with a chain as a pendant. Specify Iroquois Broach Style A or Iroquois Broach Style B.

Large (2 7/8" diameter) $120 each; Medium (2 1/8") $90 each; and Small $60 each.

NOTE TO CUSTOMERS: Because of the continuous fluctuation in silver prices, these prices will be in effect only until November 15, 1979. We will try our best to keep the prices of Indian jewelry down, but the price of silver has skyrocketed.

VOICES FROM THE EARTH

Speaker's Bureau

Within the past year the efforts of the U.S. government and multinational corporations have intensified to remove Native Peoples from their lands, to open new areas up to large scale exploitation, and to end Native resistance.

* In the Southwest, the U.S. government is attempting to forcibly relocate over 6000 Hopi and Dine (Navajo) people from their home lands, and open the area to large scale uranium stripmining.

* The Missouri River Basin has been declared a "national sacrifice area" to be depleted of its mineral, timber, and water resources. The Indian Claims Commission is attempting to wipe out Native claims to the Black Hills, and stop the one main area of resistance to this exploitation.

* Since June, the Mohawk Nation has been in a state of siege to prevent the arrests of Mohawk spiritual and political leaders by New York State Police.

In an effort to bring about accurate and concise information on these struggles, the VOICES FROM THE EARTH Speaker's Bureau – is contracting with individuals from the affected areas to be available to come and visit your community, group, campus, or organization. The honorarium for speakers is $600.00, plus travel and expenses. For scheduling contact either Mike Myers of Ed Benedict at 518–358–9531. Monies earned from speaking engagement go directly to the peoples, organizations, or nations being represented. VOICES FROM THE EARTH receives a 10% commission for acting as agent and organizer.

Speakers presently available are:

* Ateronhiatakon – War Chief of the Mohawk Nation, and community organizer;

* Skaroniati – member of the Mohawk Nation and an education specialist in bi–lingual programs;

* Tekanientarekwen – member of the Mohawk Nation, a community activist/worker;

* Sotsisowah – Editor of Akwesasne Notes;

* Segwalise – Associated Editor of Akwesasne Notes;

* Lee Lyons – a member of the Seneca Nation, assistant professor at the State University of New York at Buffaloj

* Bruce Elijah – Faithkeeper of the Oneida Nation.

Upon request we can have speakers available from the Dine (Navajo) Nation, Hopi Nation, Lakota (Sioux) Nation, Black Hills Alliance, and other nations and organizations.

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BOOKSBOOKS

BOOK REVIEW

NATIVE HARVESTS, Recipes and Botanicals of the American Indian, by Barrie Kavasch

If you are interested in taking a look at what our Native diet consisted of at or about the time of European invasion, *Native Harvests* will intrigue you.

Native Harvests is more a cookbook than a botanical guide (any wild or cultivated plant that has specific usefulness to man) according to the introduction. But, *Native Harvests* is much more than a mere cookbook or listing of plants and their uses. The careful reader can piece together an accurate picture or feeling for Nations of Native People who were truly self–sufficient in terms of diet, medicine, clothing and a wholistic relationship with the Earth.

Many plants are discussed and illustrated which serve to spark ones curiousity not only to identify Native plants but to be able to use these plants in a healthful, nutritious manner. After studying this book and utilizing it as a reference one could easily branch out into areas of interest concerning Native culinary wonders, Native diet, Native health (pre and post European contact), medicines, plant identification, etc.

It is important to keep in mind the fact that throughout the worlds peoples, the healthiest were those who ate what grew in their natural environment.

Native Harvests begins with Natures Seasonings and recipes list these natural seasonings in the ingredients throughout the book. The recipes are basically salt free and the only sweetners used are maple syrup or honey. Some recipes have been adapted to suit these "modern" times in that ingredients such as baking powder, eggs, foil–lined pans, baking temperatures, etc. are included.

Native Harvests covers: Native Soups, Vegetables, Mushrooms, Wild Meats, Saltwater and Freshwater harvest, Ferns, Lichens, Moss, Natural Breads, Wilderness beverages, Medicines, Natural Chewing Gums. An excellent glossary, reference guide and index are included.

In many instances, the author mentions which Nation of Native Peoples used a plant in a particular manner. The chapter "Poisonous Wild Plants" includes some cautions to the novice seeker of natural plants and serves as a reminder to those more experienced in exploring and feasting on our natural environment.

The author states: "The early Americans' relationship to their foods and methods of harvesting was also intricately interwoven with their human and spiritual relationships. The Indians' kinship to the plant world was a product of centuries of accumulated knowledge. Much can be understood about a culture through analyzing its seasonal diet."

For those of you interested in the significance of corn or wild rice in our Native diet, this book does not deal with either area other than to give a few recipes.

We experimented with making flour from white oak acorns. Page 66 lists twenty–three natural plants from which nutritious flours can be made. We added our acorn flour to home–made whole wheat flour and obtained a delicious nut-flavored bread.

Native Harvests should be included in your collection of books on Native cooking and Native medicines.

(Native Harvests is available from Akwesasne Notes, $5.95 - In Canada $7.25)

New Book Available

PAGANS IN OUR MIDST

$7.50

By ANDRE LOPEZ

On October 1, AKWESASNE NOTES will release our newest book. "Pagans In Our Midst" by Andre Lopez. This book is a historical study of the journalistic reporting of the years 1890-1910. From Wounded Knee I through 20 years of the formulating of Indian policy that effect Native People today

Retail Price - $5.50. Wholesale available.

SKILLS & HOW TO

American Indian Design and Decoration, by LeRoy H. Appleton. 700 illustrations, paperback $5.00.

American Indian Medicines, by Virgil Vogel. Discusses traditional medicines and ways of combating disease. Hardcover, $19.90.

American Indian Needlepoint Design, by Roslyn Epstein. Designs for many projects. Paperback, $1.50.

Blackfoot Craftworkers Book No. 15, by Adolph Hungry Wolf. A Good Medicine Book. Paperback, $3.50.

Authentic Indian Designs, by Maria Naylor, 700 illustrations. Paperback, $6.00.

Cherokee Cooklore, by Mary Chiltoskey. $1.25.

Cherokee Plants, by Mary Chiltoskey. $1.50.

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Craft Manual of Native American Indian Footwear, by George White. Introduction to 25 different styles of footwear. $2.25.

Full Color American Indian Designs for Needlepoint Rugs, by D. Story. 32 charted plates for easy use. $2.00

Games of the North American Indian, by Steward Culin. A most complete work of the games of North American Indians. Paperback, $10.00.

How Indians Used Wild Plants For Food and Crafts, by Frances Densmore. $2.75.

Indian Basketry, by George Wharton James, with over 250 illustrations. $3.50.

Indian Herbology of North America, by Alma R. Hutchens. $11.00.

Indian Scout Craft and Lore, by Charles Eastman. Description and feelings he developed to become an Indian scout. $2.00.

Indian Sign Language, by William Tomkins. Signs to convey meanings of over 870 words. $1.50.

BOOKSBOOKSBOOKSB

Political Prisoners- A.I.M.

TWO BROTHERS WRITE FROM SIOUX FALLS PENITENTIARY. THEY BELONG TO THE NATIVE AMERICAN COUNCIL OF TRIBES, *IN ORGANIZATION OF INDIAN INMATES DEDICATED TO THE GAINING OF SOVEREIGN RELIGIOUS RIGHTS IN THE JOINT'*

RICHARD MARSHALL IS AN ORGANIZER WHO WAS FRAMED BY THE FBI. HE IS STILL AT SIOUX FALLS.

TED MEANS IS A LAKOTA TEACHER SERVING TIME FOR DEFENDING OLD WOMEN AT THE CUSTER COURTROOM RIOT OF SPRING, 1974. HE IS CURRENTLY AT SWIFT BIRD PRISON FOR INDIANS IN WYOMING'

THE NATIVE AMERICAN COUNCIL OF TRIBES OUTSIDE THE WALLS SISTER ORGANIZATION IS: WOMEN OF ALL RED NATIONS, c/o LORELEI MEANS, PROCUPINE, SOUTH DAKOTA 57775.

COMMENTS BY TED MEANS

(from Wowapeska Oyate Sa (Red Peoples Paper)

When I walked into this institution, I decided that I was going to somehow make this a positive experience. Not ever serving time before I felt that it was important for me to observe as much as I could and use my observations as a learning tool. In the short time that I have been here I have learned a great deal and each day has been a learning experience for me. I give credit for a number of Brothers that have contributed to my growth.

Before coming here, I made certain spiritual preparations that have also helped me cope with this forced environment. I was told that there are reasons for my being here and that in time I would begin to understand why. I am now beginning to understand my purpose.

I have been involved with the American Indian Movement (AIM) for almost ten years now, and that involvement has given me a certain amount of experience in dealing with the WASICU. I am hopeful that with that experience I can contribute something meaningful during my stay here.

I can see the racism here both subtle and open. Because of this, the Indian inmate is faced with a more frustrating life while he is here and his chances of release are much lower than that of a non-Indian inmate. That goes without saying and statistics will bear that out. I don't think that I will have to go into detail about how this administration deals with Indian inmates.

I think that the reason this situation exists is because this administration does not answer to *anybody*. The Board of Charities and Corrections does not oversee the operation of this joint, they only ruber stamp its function. Because we have been successfully isolated from our people, we are "out of sight-out of mind." With the support of a number of people on the outside, we are attempting to deal with this situation. Not only will this support provide pressure for needed changes but, it will also provide more physical support for our activities here at this institution. But, as always, this will not happen over night. However, the wheels are turning and an organized support effort is being formulated on the outside.

Another obstacle in our efforts to provide meaningful change is the "FRONTIER MENTALITY" that exists in this State. The lack of understanding and respect is a paramount issue, and the unwillingness of the administration to deal with this issue only adds fuel to the fire of frustration. We must also recognize some of the tactics used by the administration in order to achieve certain goals they have set for themselves.

In order for the administration to justify their actions, they must maintain an atmosphere of conflict. They continue to try and orchestrate confrontations between the skins and the administration and between skins and other inmates. Without compromising our beliefs, we must not allow ourselves to be manipulated by the "MAN". I think we also are aware of how the administration uses snitches to cause problems and to keep them informed. This situation illustrates the need to really calculate our actions in order that we don't fall trap to their well laid out plans.

Within our own ranks, I can see a real sense of Brotherhood that has kept us tight. This, and our Spirituality, is something that the "MAN" cannot understand, nor can he deal with it. This is an advantage that we have to maintain. Respect and understanding, are important for us to continue with this strength.

The efforts of N.A.C.T. have been met with a number of obstacles but by working together, by "respect for our Brothers vision" and with patience, we can overcome these obstacles. There is only one way to go, and that is to move ahead. . . TOGETHER.....

RELIGION

by Dick Marshall (ikē̆e wīcasa)

Le Anpetu ki iyuh a čante wašagya nape čī yuza pelo. . .
This day, I shake your hand with strong spirits.

As this is our first official communiquē, I pray this newsletter will be something worthwhile for you to read. We have been *DENIED* many times over by this redneck administration regarding "Native American Council of Tribes", publishing a monthly newsletter. While the Jacees and other groups inside these confines are allowed communication by bulk postage! Those of you who have experienced prison time realize all the (white tape) we Native residents have to deal with. It is no different than the struggle outside of these confines but we AIM to maintain our earnest efforts, of keeping you up to date with this first issue and with your help, many more.

My Bro's young and old, face problems everyday while being separated physically, from our friends, relatives and especially our families. After enduring the last three winters in this internationally known Territorial prison, I am most happy that my Bro's have a Sacred White Buffalo Calf Pipe.

Personally, I have come to understand more with the teachings of our respectful Pejuta Wīcašas that maintaining the Spiritual communication one can endure this prison life. Since April 6, 1976, I have seen, experienced and (am) still (experiencing) the racist atmosphere toward my grassroots Brothers, Sisters inside prison.

Pointing out a few of the many inhumane incidents that have occurred (with witnesses): Sacred Tobacco Ties torn open by guards (sic) during harrassment-style shakedowns. Bro's being charged and convicted for using our Sacred Inipi (Sweat Lodge), Pejuta Wīcašas (medicine men) having to open bundles before being allowed inside, Bro's being hand-cuffed to bars above their head, without chow or use of latrine. Plus countless other injustices which have caused my Brothers alot of suffering.

Since April 9, 1976, I have seen only two investigations come down concerning matters mentioned above, only to be "white washed" by this administration. This (tona face) warden is always informing the public, that the Native population is being treated equally – percentage wise.?But like I've mentioned plus many others, one has to do prison-time, to really experience the backwardness of prison politics.

The "divide and conquer technique" utilized by this government (sic), is even greater within these walls. Since the organization of N.A.C.T., we have become more solid and always aware of our flank.

April 25, 1979, was the first time ever, did this (sic) warden Solem make a personal attendance, in front of the whole inmate population. The Bro's again, played a major role in co-ordinating that unforgetful day. The mud-slinging got out of hand, but it was beautiful, (Hee-Haw) to see this warden put on a spot and having to answer the questions thrown at him!!!

From that, the guards staged a walk-out which was an immature move on their part. What made it more amusing was when these guards went crying to the media.

Of course, all during this four day lock-up, the total population maintained and there was no "riot" as the administration would have liked to take place. N.A.C.T., however, was put on "administrative-freeze", and no Cultural activities have since taken place. This, while the other groups were permitted to carry out their business.

N.A.C.T. was later *DENIED* a Traditional Feed and Social gathering. Plus our request for expanding our

Religious Freedoms, through the Native American Church, were also *DENIED* . It is this type of racist attitude, that exists each day for my Brothers. Attorneys have been denied their right to visit with clients.

Far as I'm concerned, there is only one law, and that is the law of Nature. I've come to the understanding, "The Earth on this side of the wall, is the same on the outside and I will always walk humbly on the back of our Sacred Mother, the Earth." While enduring this (temporary stay), I will utilize this unconscious Wašicus prison, as a trainig camp, to strengthen myself mentally, physically, and Spiritually and prepare to meet the responsibilities that I encounter, upon my eventual release.

I am calling on all concerned Peoples, to support the Native American Council of Tribes, and our efforts, to expose this jive prison administration.

Before closing this brief breeze, I would like to share with you, that my Brothers appreciate you taking the time to review our first issue. We thank all supportive groups:

"We will Remember Survival Group," (Pahin Wakpala), Confederation of Survival Schools, W.A.R.N., Yvonne Wanrow Defence Committee, "Free Leonard Peltier" defence committee, Black Hills Alliance, Minnesota Farmers Against Powerline, and others who are aware of N.A.C.T. and its accomplishments and goals.

"Tunka šila, le anpetu ki maka si tomni Lakotah oyate ki unši wi ča ya yo. . . . "